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THE *John Burns*  
HISTORY

OF THE

Knights Hospitallers

OF

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Styled afterwards,

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at present,

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

Translated from the FRENCH of

Monf. L'ABBÉ DE VERTOT.

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T H E  
H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

Knights Hospitallers

O F

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Called afterwards

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at present

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

B O O K XIII.

**T**HOUGH the taking of Fort St. Elmo had cost the infidels one of their generals, and the choicest of their troops, yet, nevertheless, great as their loss was, that of the order, in the vigorous defence it made, was not less considerable in proportion. 'Tis computed that one hundred and thirty knights, and above one thousand three hundred men lost their lives in this particular siege; and the cruelties which the Turks had exercised at the conclusion of it, had thrown the rest into a kind of consternation. The grand master was sensibly afflicted at so great a loss,

JOHN DE LA  
VALETTE.

loss, but very prudently dissembled his concern ; and, in order to encourage some knights, whom he observed to be seized with a kind of terror, he summoned a general and extraordinary assembly of all such knights as could be spared from their posts, and who could attend without prejudice to the security of the place. When appearing among them with his usual constancy, and a magnanimity that was superior to all events, he began his discourse with a panegyric upon those knights who had been killed on this occasion, asserting, that as they had generously sacrificed their lives in defence of the faith, they had lived enough for their glory and their salvation. He went on in recommending their zeal and courage to the assembly, as a fit pattern for them to imitate ; and in order to inspire them with recruited ardour, and animate them with greater confidence, he represented to them, that the knights whom they had lost, had not been so much overcome by the valour, as overwhelmed by the multitudes of infidels ; but that now the number of their merciless enemies was considerably diminished ; that their army was wasting away continually with the bloody flux, and other contagious distempers with which it was infected ; that they began to be in want of ammunition and provisions, and that though they had sent to the coasts of Africa, to Greece, and into the archipelago for fresh supplies, yet they had no news of the return of their ships ; neither did the fort which they had taken give them any manner of advantage over the town and other fortresses which were situated at a distance from it ; that all the forces of the order were shut up in these places ; that succours might be thrown into them without any difficulty ; and, in fine, that he hoped either to give the Turks battle, or to make them all lose their lives before the bastions and other fortifications.

THIS discourse, which he pronounced with an heroic assurance, the fire which sparkled in his eyes, and the sense they had of his valour and capacity, all these circumstances raised the spirits, and confirmed the confidence

fidence of the assembly, and not a knight of them but protested solemnly, that he would fight to the last drop of his blood for the defence of the island, and the preservation of the order.

'Twas with a sensible pleasure that the grand master perceived all his knights inspired with the same sentiments as himself; and, in order to animate the common soldiers with the same bravery, he visited every post, when, addressing himself to them with a familiarity that was very engaging; "We are, says he, (my brave comrades) the soldiers of the LORD JESUS as well as you, and if you should have the misfortune to lose us and all your officers, I am thoroughly persuaded, that you will still fight on with the same intrepidity and resolution, and that your own courage will in that case supply the defect of orders." Therefore, to reinforce and raise the confidence of his troops, he drew four companies out of the *Notable city*, which was in less danger from the Turks, and brought them into the Town. He chose, at the same time, four of the principal commanders, whom he made captains of reserve, to be ready to run on all occasions to such places as should be most in danger. Each of these commanders had ten knights, subject to his particular orders, who were to serve in quality of aids de camp; and he afterwards nominated three others to act as serjeant-majors of the place. Although he had got a prodigious quantity of provisions, yet he took care of their being distributed with oeconomy, and ordered all the corn and wine that was in private hands to be brought into the public magazines, paying the price thereof to the proprietors.

AFTER these regulations, so truly worthy of a great general, his next step was to forbid the making of any prisoners for the future, giving express orders, that, after having got out of them all the informations possible relating to the basha's designs, they would put them all to the sword, and not give them the least quarter. The motive of this rigour was, not only to shew the Turks that they durst revenge the cruelties which

they had exercised upon the knights of the fort, but likewise to put his own soldiers and the inhabitants, whatever extremes they might be reduced to, out of all hopes of capitulating, and to make them sensible, that their own preservation and that of the place were inseparable.

THE basha, who knew nothing of this desperate resolution, and vainly flattered himself that the grand master and the knights, startled at their late loss, might hearken to a capitulation with pleasure, sent an officer with a white flag to the gate of the town. He had with him a Christian slave, in quality of an interpreter, and had orders to try if the grand master was disposed to enter into a negotiation; but he was refused admittance into the town. The slave however, who had served thirty years on board the grand seignior's galleys, was admitted in, and brought to la Valette, whom he met in the great square; but, at the first word he mentioned about capitulating, the grand master, without hearing a syllable more, ordered him to be immediately hanged. However, he privately told the knight, who was appointed to see his execution performed, that he should only frighten him with it, and that when he had got from him all possible informations relating to the state of the Turkish army, and the design of the basha, he should afterwards let him go.

THEY found that this slave was a poor fellow, seventy years old, whom they had released from the galleys for the sake only of sending him upon so dangerous a commission, and that he was entirely ignorant of the projects of the Turkish general. They offered to keep him with them in the town; but as he was persuaded that the infidels would soon be masters of it, when he was afraid he should be treated as a deserter, he chose rather to return back to his slavery, than to have only a taste, as he thought, of a precarious liberty, which, if he should lose a second time, would be attended with the most dreadful torments; for which reasons he desired leave to be gone. The knight, who  
had

had orders to let him out of town, led him through several lines of soldiers, who had been commanded to appear there under arms ; and when he had conducted him to the counterscarp, he shewed him the bulwarks and bastions of the place, when pointing particularly to the ditch, which was very deep, " See there," says he to him, the only spot we can afford the basha, and we reserve it in order to bury him in it, " with all his janizaries."

THE basha saw plainly, by the bold answer which he had given the slave, that there would be no reducing the island but by force of arms. He therefore ordered his troops to invest, on the land side, the castle of St. Angelo, the town, and the peninsula de la Sangle, which formerly went by the name of the town and castle of St. Michael, all situated upon two necks of land that run out into the great port, and which are divided from one another only by a channel, that served for a port appropriated to the gallies of the order. The army of the infidels extended itself from the hill or rock of Coradin, and from Bormole, a kind of fort contiguous to the town of St. Michael, as far as mount St. Margaret, and the Belvedera, where the basha had fixed his own quarters. They then began to open the trenches, and in such places as they could not dig, by reason of the hardness of the rock, the basha made them build walls of dry stone. He resolved to batter at one and the same time the town and the peninsula on which the castle of St. Michael, then called the Isle de la Sangle, stood ; for which purpose the christian slaves were employed in drawing seventy pieces of heavy cannon to the several places where he proposed to erect his batteries, of which at last he had no less than nine.

WHILST the Turks were thus busied in carrying on their works, Don John de Cardonna before mentioned, who commanded the four gallies which were sent with succours, appeared again near Malta, in order to endeavour to learn, pursuant to his instructions, if Fort St. Elmo still held out. He had before made some at-

tempts to land his men ; but the bad weather, or perhaps the fear with which he was seized, had rendered them ineffectual ; but now he put colonel Robles, and the chevalier de Quiney ashore, with a small party for their guard. The colonel, out of complaisance to the sentiments of his general, had constantly maintained, in all the councils of war, that it would be impossible for them to take too much precaution about a landing, and was on that account highly in his confidence. They were no sooner come ashore, but they were informed by some poor inhabitants, who had hid themselves in the holes of the neighbouring rocks, that the fort was lost. This was enough to make him reembark without more ado, but the chevalier de Quiney earnestly dissuading from it, and his own courage inspiring him with a resolution of contributing to the relief of Malta, he resolved to conceal the truth from Don John, and to engage him to land immediately the troops that were on board his galleys. With this view, and for fear lest his soldiers should, at their return, acquaint Don John with the loss of the fort, he sent them to the *Notable city*, which was of easy access, under pretence of bringing guides and horses from thence, in order to conduct the succours to the town ; by the same express he informed the governor, that he was going to land the troops in the road of Pietra Nigra, that he should detain the soldiers who should deliver him his letter, and send him other guides to lead the succours to the town, with conveniencies to carry the baggage. After this he went on board again with Quiney, and both of them joined in telling the general an useful untruth, assuring him that the fort still held out, but that they had been informed there was no hopes of saving it without immediate succours ; for which reason they had sent the soldiers to the city, in order to bring them carriages from thence. Cardonna, still unresolved what to do, would fain have put off the landing a little longer, but the knights, and about forty gentlemen that were on board his galley, exclaimed so much against it, and the very soldiers discovered so

much

much eagerness and zeal to be fighting with the infidels, that Don John out of fear of their resentment, and of his being exposed to the reproach of the world, by the complaints which they threatened to make against him, was forced to put them ashore. Accordingly they landed in the creek of Pietra Nigra, and Cardonna had no sooner discharged this part of his commission, but he sailed with his four gallies for Sicily.

THE difficulty was how to get this small succour into the town, the infidels having invested and blocked it up on the land side. The grand master having advice of their landing from Melquita, had sent them guides to conduct them through by-roads to the port or road Della Scala, with assurances that they would meet with boats ready to transport them safe over to the town. They set out immediately, and, taking the advantage of a great fog, they got safe to the port Della Scala, without being discovered; when getting on board, they crossed the great port, and arrived at the town, where they were welcomed by the knights and soldiers, with all the expressions of joy that were due to their zeal, and answerable to the want they stood in of such a reinforcement.

THE isle de la Sangle, with the castle and town, which was the weakest part of it, and that against which the Turks employed their greatest efforts, was the post which colonel Robles and the generality of the knights and secular gentlemen, earnestly solicited the grand master to give them; who accordingly at their requests were sent thither. They had planted several batteries at the hermitage, and on mount Sceberras, which played continually on the place, and another was raised upon mount Coradin, which lay so high, that it commanded it like a cavalier, so that they from thence, could easily see every thing that passed within. The basha, in order to straiten it still more, made an intrenchment before the Coradin rock, of a height sufficient to cover those who were posted there. The besieged were now shut up on all sides, except towards the port and the sea: the basha therefore, in order to cut

cut off this communication, which might be of service to them in introducing succours, and to invest the Christians on all sides, proposed, in a council of war, the attacking of the great Spur, on the point of the Peninsula. For the execution of this project, they were under an absolute necessity of bringing a considerable number of boats, well armed and provided with soldiers, into the great port ; but they represented to him, that, besides the chain which went cross the mouth of the port, it would be impossible for those boats to make their way without their being exposed to the danger of being shattered to pieces and sunk by the artillery of the castle of St. Angelo, which commanded and played upon all that part of the port : so that they would have given over the design, had not the Turkish admiral found out a way to bring the boats into the great port, without their passing under the castle of St. Angelo. As he was master of port Muffet, which was divided from the great port only by the neck of land of mount Sceberras, on which the fort of St. Elmo stood, he undertook to make the Christian slaves, and the crew of his gallies, draw a sufficient number of boats cross this neck of land, by the strength of their arms, and to launch them in the great port ; after which, they might put a body of soldiers and arquebusiers on board them, in order to attack the Spur on the side towards the mills, at the same time that the land army should attempt a storm on that side where the castle lay.

THE council highly applauded this expedient, the which, as the knights had been no ways apprehensive of it, might probably have occasioned the loss of those works, had it not been for a Turkish officer, a Christian, and a Greek by birth, who having been present at the council, and being touched with a sudden remorse of conscience, was resolved to get over to the island, and to run the hazard of his life in giving the governor notice of it. This officer was called Lascaris, of the illustrious house of that name, which had given several emperors to the east. The Turks, at the taking of Patras, a town of the Morea, had made him  
a slave,

a slave, at a time when he was so very young, that he was hardly sensible of the misery of his condition. They brought him up in the Turkish religion, and out of some regard to his high extraction, great care was taken of his education. He served in his early youth among the Spahi, and by his valour, had raised himself to the first posts in that body of cavalry. His thoughts had perhaps hitherto been employed only in the making of his fortune, but the sight of Malta, ready to sink under the power of the infidels, revived in his memory the indelible character of a Christian, which he had received at his baptism. The heroic valour, of which the knights daily gave such distinguished proofs, raised his compassion; and he could not forbear reproaching himself for fighting on the side of barbarians, who had put most of the princes of his family to death, and had forced the rest, since the taking of Constantinople, to fly for refuge into foreign countries. Full of these different reflections, he goes down to the sea side, to a place that lay directly opposite to the Spur of St. Michael, where waving his turbant, he made signs for them to send a boat to carry him over to the island. A knight named Savoguerre, who commanded at the point of the fort, seeing by the rich cloaths he had on, that he was a considerable officer, gave immediate advice of it to the grand master, and desired leave to send a skiff for him, which was readily granted. But before the soldier, whom he had dispatched to the town, could return, some Turks observing Lascaris making his signals, and judging from thence that he intended to desert, and go over to the Christians, they ran to seize him. Though he scarce knew how to swim, he yet, to prevent his being taken, threw himself into the sea; and of two inevitable dangers, he preferred that in which he might possibly be succoured. Savoguerre, who had never taken his eyes off him, observing from the other side the difficulty he had to cross over, immediately sent off three Maltese, who were excellent swimmers, who came up to him when his strength was almost exhausted, and by their assistance he got safe to shore.

shore. After they had made him throw up the water he had swallowed, they conducted him to the grand master, whom he acquainted with the basha's and admiral's projects, and shewed, at the same time, the several places where they proposed to erect their batteries. The grand master, who was thoroughly sensible of the great importance of these advices, extolled the generous resolution he had taken to hazard his life for the safety of the Christians, and therefore settled a large pension on him; and Lascaris, during the time the siege lasted, made it manifest, by his bravery and counsels, that he had no way degenerated from the virtue of his ancestors.

THE grand master was at first struck with the admiral's bold and difficult design; but afterwards recovering from his surprise, he set himself about defeating the success of it. For this end, he fortified all those places towards the port, where the Turks, by the help of their boats, might possibly make a descent. He likewise ordered the walls of the town of St. Michael to be raised higher, and lined the shore with several pieces of cannon, in order to clear the port of every enemy that should appear. As their chief business was to hinder the Turks from advancing up to the walls of St. Michael, the grand master proposed that affair to the council; but as their opinions were different, and that he was persuaded that even men, though of the greatest capacity, do not yet see into every thing, he did not disdain to consult two Maltese pilots, whom he had ever found to be, not only men of great capacity and experience in naval affairs, but who had likewise discovered the greatest zeal and fidelity for the order. He told them the design of Turkish admiral, and asked them what they thought was to be done, in order to defeat it, and hinder the embarkation of the troops, which they had drawn down to the shore of mount Sceberras in the isle de la Sangle. Both the pilots agreed in opinion, and told him, that it would be proper to make a staccado with piles drove into the sea, from the Coradin rock to the Spar, which was at the  
point

point of the isle, and to fix iron rings to the top of these piles, and draw a long chain across to stop up the spaces between them: and whereas it would not be possible to drive in the piles in some places, by reason of the depth of the water, or the hardness of the rocky bottom, it would be necessary for them, in that case, to stop up the passage with their longest sail-yards and masts nailed together, which, with the chain, would make it altogether impracticable.

THE grand master laying their proposal before the council, it was unanimously approved of, and accordingly they set to work about it the night following. La Valette, who plainly perceived the great use of such a staccado, gave orders for the making of others, to hinder any landing on the side of the posts of England, Germany, and the great infirmary. He likewise secured the post for the gallies with an iron chain, which was defended by several batteries on both sides. As the Turkish artillery did not allow them to carry on these works in the day time, they could only work at them by night: but the grand master, knowing of what importance they would be, employed so many hands about them, that in nine nights time all these staccado's and defences were finished.

THE basha was strangely surprised to see so many works rise up as it were on a sudden out of the sea, to oppose the passage of his boats and the descent of his troops; but as he was a man of true courage and great abilities, he would not give over his first project, and fancied he could find a way to carry off some of the piles of the staccado, and by that means open a passage for his little fleet through the several gaps. For this end, some Turks, with axes at their girdles, swam, by his orders, to the pallisado, got upon the sail-yards, and worked hard to cut them asunder. This could not be done without a noise, which soon discovered their design; upon which they were immediately plied with cannon and musket-ball, but as the firing was made from an higher ground, and directed downwards, it did no execution. The admiral de Monte, who com-  
manded

manded in the island, seeing this had no effect, resolved to attack them in their own way, and for that purpose sent some Maltese soldiers, who were excellent swimmers, to them; these stripping themselves, and holding their swords in their teeth, came up with the Turks, beat them off the staccado, killed and wounded a good number of them, and pursued the rest, who made off as fast as possible, and got with great difficulty to the other side of the port. They returned however the next day, and before they were perceived had tied some cables to the masts and sail-yards, which had been laid for the security of the pallisado, and endeavoured to move and carry off the piles by the force of the capstanes of their ships, which were placed on the shore. But all the Maltese were excellent swimmers, so that they no sooner discovered this new kind of attack, but several Maltese, threw themselves into the water, and with their sabres cut all the cables, and baffled this second attempt of the basha.

AFTER these little attacks, which were of no very great consequence on either side, Mustapha, on the fifth of July began to fire from all his batteries together. That which was placed upon mount St. Margaret battered the quarter called la Bormole, and the bastion of Provence: but the officers of the artillery seeing it did little mischief, turned it against the fort or castle St. Michael. The Turks had another upon the Coradin rock, which fired continually upon the bastion that lay over against them, and the cannon which they planted upon fort St. Elmo and mount Sceberras played upon the castle of St. Angelo. There were other batteries raised upon mount Salvator, that of Calcara, and on other eminences adjacent, which battered the great town, and the posts of Castile, Germany and England. That of Arragon was in a manner demolished already. All these batteries, and those of the Christians which answered them. made such a dreadful and continual fire, that the island seemed to be a volcano, and looked like another mount Etna. The Turks, under cover of their artillery, ran their trenches up to the ditch side, but  
being

being stopped by a small redoubt that covered it, they battered that work with so much fury, that the knights finding themselves unable to defend it any longer, blew it up, and retired within the island.

THE point of land on which the castle and town of St. Michael stood, had no manner of communication with the great town and the castle of St. Angelo, and could get no succours from thence, but by means of a ferry-boat, which being heavy, and its motion very slow, exposed all such as crossed over to the fire of the infidels. The grand master, by the advice of John Anthony Bosio, a young knight, and brother to the analist of the order, caused a bridge of his invention to be made of pipes and hogsheds well pitched, which he afterwards covered over with planks. They placed it out of the reach of the fire of the enemies muskets, and as they run very nimbly upon it, they were not hurt by the fire of the artillery. This bridge proved afterwards very serviceable for the passage of those succours which they were obliged to send to fort St. Michael.

THE Turks knowing it to be the weakest part in the whole island, plied it hard with cannon-shot. Nor did their batteries make less execution upon the great town : considerable breaches were soon made in some places, but the basha did not think fit to attempt a storm till after he had entirely ruined all the out-works ; besides, he was desirous of waiting for the arrival of Hassan, viceroy of Algiers, who had sent him word, that he would immediately advance with a good reinforcement, composed of the flower of all his forces.

THE grand master, surpris'd at his having no news of the viceroy of Sicily's armada, wrote in the strongest terms on that subject to the commander Salvago, who resided at his court, in order to hasten the succours. He was an able minister, and could not be reproached with either want of zeal and assiduity, or of remissness in executing the several orders he received from the grand master. But he had to deal with a

proud and haughty Spaniard, with whom he thought himself obliged to observe certain measures for fear lest he should ruin the affair by being too earnest in his solicitations, and by that means afford him the pretext he wanted, in order to excuse himself from sending the succours he had promised. The grand master's letter, the loss of fort St. Elmo, and the danger to which the isle de la Sangle was exposed, put him out of all patience; so that he went without farther ceremony to the viceroy, and complained, in the grand master's name, of his slowness in dispatching the succours; telling him moreover, that the basha was laying close siege to the great town and the castle of St. Michael at the same time, and that his troops were already advanced up to the walls. He added, in the utmost transports of zeal and grief, that Malta was on the point of being lost, but that all the nations of the Christian world would eternally reproach his memory, for having suffered the flower of all the gentry in Christendom, to be cut to pieces by his affected delays; and finding that the viceroy answered him only in general and ambiguous terms, he flung out of the palace, and coming up to the people who were assembled in the great square, he cried out, that Garzia was playing a double game, and that he, by his continual shifts and evasions, was going to deliver up the grand master and his knights into the hands of the infidels.

THE complaints of the agent of Malta were indeed but too well founded; but after all, the viceroy was not in reality so much the author as the minister of these delays, he having received private orders not to be too forward; and indeed under a prince who was as imperious and secret in all his actions as Philip II. and who sacrificed every thing to appearances, he would have been equally ruined, had he either been too hasty in sending away the succours, or had let the world see that it was not in his power to send them whenever he pleased. However, finding that Salvago's complaints made a great impression upon the minds of the people, he said, to save his own reputation, that he  
could

could not rashly expose his master's fleet, that he would ask the advice of such of his ministers and principal officers as were in Italy; that he would afterwards call a great council of war, when all the necessary measures for sending immediately a strong body of troops to the relief of Malta should be adjusted. But this was far from being his real intention, much less that of the king his master, whose slow and uncertain policy put him always upon waiting for the benefit of time, which he often lost. Philip and his minister contenting themselves with a vain ostentation of his forces, imagined that the bravery of the knights alone would be sufficient to baffle the enterprize of the Turks, and that at most they had no more to do, than to have the succours in a readiness to be sent off, in case they found that they were too closely attacked, and that there should be a real necessity for them.

SUCH were the private views of the council of Spain. John Andrew Doria, who was not let into the secret, and was at this time with his gallies in the port of Messina, offered the viceroy to transport two thousand men to Malta, till such time as all the forces of the king of Spain could be got together. He shewed him the way he would take to carry them, and said, that before the Turks could have weighed up their anchors, or have cut their cables, he, by the strength of oars, should be got into the great port as far as the castle of St. Angelo, and that, provided he could but land his troops and his crew, which would serve for soldiers and pioneers, he did not value if he afterwards lost the hulks of his gallies.

THE viceroy at first applauded the generosity of the proposal, and came so far into the project, that he made Doria swear to put it immediately in execution; but whether it were from a secret jealousy, for fear lest all the honour of the enterprize should accrue to him, or else that he was not willing to engage in it, till such time as he had received fresh orders from Madrid, he sent Doria with his gallies to Genoa and the coast of Tuscany, on pretence of fetching from thence some necessaries for this particular expedition, and by this fetch

cluded the opportunity of dividing his forces. However, as Salvago and a great number of knights, who were daily arriving from all parts of Christendom at Messina, in their passage to Malta, were continually soliciting for the succours, he ordered two gallies to be fitted out, the command of which he gave to Pompeo Colonna, with a good number of knights on board. But whether it were that the commodore had private orders to run no hazard, or that he had not the same zeal to succour the grand master as Doria had, he advanced only at a certain distance from the great port, when finding the entrance of it shut up and guarded by the Turkish fleet, he tacked about and came into the ports of Sicily, and at his return, reported to the viceroy, that he must absolutely have all his forces united in one body, otherwise it would be impossible for them ever to open a passage, or force the infidels to raise the siege.

HASSAN, viceroy of Algiers, arrived at the camp about this time with two thousand five hundred men, all of them old and resolute soldiers, and commonly called the bravo's of Algiers. When he saw fort St. Elmo, and considered its smallness, he could not forbear crying out, that had his soldiers been at the siege, it would not have held out so long. This young Turk was son to Barbarossa, and son-in-law to Dragut: proud of those celebrated names, and in hopes of making his own as illustrious, he desired the basha to entrust him with the attack of fort St. Michael, boasting that he would carry it sword in hand. Mustapha, who was an old general, and who would not have been sorry that this bold youth should learn, at his own expence, how dangerous it was to come within reach of the sword of the knights, answered him in a very obliging manner, That as he did not doubt of his success, he freely consented that the sultan should bestow upon him all the honour that so brave an action merited; and, in order to enable him to carry his point, and attack the isle both by sea and land, he gave him six thousand men, assuring him at the same time, that he  
would

would sustain him on the land side at the head of all his troops.

HASSAN, with his Algerines, resolved to attack the peninsula both by sea and land; towards the continent, in that part where it joined to the main land, and towards the port on the other side. He left this last attack to Candelissa his lieutenant; he was a Greek renegado, and an old corsair, of a cruel and bloody disposition, but an excellent seaman, having spent his whole life under Barbarossa, and commanded at this time the Algerines, who followed Hassan to the siege, he having divided them between himself and his lieutenant on this occasion. To prepare for this double attack, the Turks for several days together kept a continual fire with their artillery from several batteries. They had raised one of three cannons upon mount St. Elmo, which played upon the Spur or point of the island. There was another of thirteen cannons and a double culverin planted upon the Corradin rock, which fired continually on the courtin of the castle of St. Michael. The front of the castle was battered by three cannons from a place called the Hermitage. They had raised on mount St. Margaret another battery of six cannons, which played upon the fortifications of the castle of St. Michael, and made great havock among the houses within. One would have thought hitherto that the Turks were minded only to make war at a distance, and to carry it on with their artillery; but on the fifteenth of July, at day-break, the scene changed, and they came to a long and bloody engagement, in which the bravest of both parties lost their lives.

WHILST the Turks, through the ruins which their artillery had made, were endeavouring to force their way into the island, their slaves had drawn, by strength of arms, a prodigious number of boats from port Muffet, cross mount Sceberras, and had launched them in the great port, and Candelissa had put part of the Algerine soldiers on board them, together with upwards of 2000 men, whom the basha had given him for this enterprise. This little fleet, if we consider the size of their vessels,

being well armed, and numerous enough to cover the great port in a manner, set out from the coast of mount Sceberras, with drums beating, haut-boys, and other barbarous instruments playing, as they moved along. It was preceeded by a bark full of mahometan priests and dervises, some of whom were imploring the assistance of heaven with hymns and prayers, whilst others were reading out of books which they held in their hands, imprecations against the Christians. This ceremony soon gave way to arms of a more formidable nature, when the Turks advanced boldly to the staccado. Candelissa imagined he should be able to make his way through some part of it and break it; or, in case of disappointment, his design was to make his soldiers climb over the staccado, and, by the help of a great number of planks, one end of which was to be laid upon the top of the piles, and the other upon the shore, he thought to make a kind of a bridge to land his men: But he was mistaken in his conjectures, the shore being farther off than he imagined, and the planks proving too short; and when he attempted to break the chain, or cut the sail-yards, which fastened the piles that formed the staccado, the Turks were in a moment overwhelmed by the fire from the muskets: and the artillery of the castle of St. Angelo, with all the batteries of the isle which looked towards the port, firing upon them at the same time, sunk a good number of their boats, and forced the rest to make off.

THEIR general however rallied them together, and observing that the staccado did not so entirely cover the point of the isle, but that it left a place where he might attempt to make a descent, he accordingly made towards it. 'Twas a kind of cape or promontory, on which they had made a strong entrenchment, that was lined by a good number of arquebusiers, and washed to the bottom by the water of the port. This point of land was defended by a battery of six cannons, (playing level with the water of the port) which the grand master had planted just below two wind-mills that stood upon the eminence. The commander de Guimeran,

meran, an old knight, of whom mention has been often made, and ever with honour, commanded at this post : he suffered the boats of the enemy to advance near the shore, but as soon as he saw them within reach, he gave them such a fire, with his great and small shot, that several of their boats were sunk, and we are told that near 400 Turks were killed by this volley.

CANDELISSA, who had been brought up, as it were, in the midst of fire, and inured to all the dangers of war, made to the shore, whilst the Christian cannoneers were charging their artillery again, and landed at the head of his Algerines. But he here met with new perils ; for Guimeran, when he fired his cannons, had reserved two loaden with cartridge shot, which he now poured in upon the Turks. Great numbers of them dropped, but their intrepid general, seeing part of his soldiers give way, and several of them making back to their boats, did all that lay in his power, by making use of intreaties and menaces : but, above all, endeavouring, by his own example and resolution, to oblige them to stand their ground on the shore ; and in order to cut off all hopes of retreating, commanded the boats to make off. This was telling his soldiers that they must either vanquish or die ; and indeed it was manifested on this occasion, that despair often pushes us on to actions that are superior to courage, or the ordinary strength of nature. The Algerines, who were in the front of the attack, with a sabre in one hand, and a ladder in the other, endeavoured to get upon the entrenchment. They all strove who should first seize upon so dangerous a post, and unanimously pressed forward with a generous contempt of death. There was a dreadful slaughter made in the engagement, which was a very long one : the blood ran down in streams to the foot of the intrenchment : but the Barbarians attacked it with so much fury and resolution, that they, at last, after an engagement of about five hours, gained the top of the intrenchment, and planted seven ensigns upon it.

At the sight of these standards, the knights, though reduced to a small number, being ashamed of their retreat, faced about upon the enemy with a noble indignation. Admiral Monti put himself at their head; and, after a fresh volley of small shot on both sides, they closed, and engaged one another with their half pikes, swords and daggers: fortune however seemed in suspense on the side of the knights, of whom so great a number had been slain, and those who survived were so wearied and spent, that they had just reason to fear the worst; when the grand master, whose vigilance extended to every scene of action, having notice of the extremity to which those who defended the Spur of St. Michael were reduced, sent the commander de Giou, general of the gallies, and the chevaliers de Quiney, and Ruiz de Medina, with a party to their assistance. This succour was preceded by another of a very singular kind: a company of boys, near 200 in number, armed with slings, which they used with great dexterity, crying out succour and victory, poured in showers of stones upon the enemy. The commander de Giou, advancing immediately at the head of his men, with his pike in his hand, charged the infidels, tore down their standards, drove them before him, and forced them to quit the rampart where they were going to make a lodgment. The knights pursued them close with their drawn swords, and forced the greatest part of them to throw themselves headlong down: Candellissa, their commander, was one of the first that fled; and though he had ever hitherto discovered the utmost intrepidity and courage, it yet was damped before the engagement was ended. He had no sooner lost all hopes of vanquishing, but his intrepidity fled away at the same moment; and the fear of falling into the hands of the knights, who gave no quarter, obliged him to call back his boats, and he himself was the first that leaped in. His own soldiers, ashamed of his precipitate flight, which dishonoured their body, called him afterwards by no other name than that of the Greek traitor. They gave out that he was a renegado in a  
double

double sense ; and that he, after having renounced the Christian religion, and embraced that of Mahomet, had not been willing to complete the advantage he had gained through the hopes of his meeting with a more favourable reception among the Christians upon his return to them, which had been the reason of his delivering them up to the fury of the knights.

HOWEVER, the algerine bravo's, notwithstanding their being deserted by their leader, still fought on as they retreated with great courage ; but serjeant major Sada, the chevaliers Adorne, a Genoese, Paul Ferrier, of the language of France, and a Florentine gentleman named Corbinelli, incensed at their obstinate resistance, sallied out at a casemate with a party of soldiers ; surprised and charged the infidels so warmly, that after having killed great numbers of them, they forced the rest to fly for their lives to the boats and shallops which were returned to take them in.

THE sea was not much more favourable to them than the land, they being obliged to make their way through the fire of all the batteries that had annoyed them so much at their approach, and upon their landing, and which now sunk several of them in their retreat. Even those who had thrown themselves on board, crowding in too great numbers, sunk down to the bottom ; such as could not get boats embraced the knees of the victorious soldiers, and begged for quarter ; but they received no other answer, than that they should have St. Elme's pay ; and accordingly were, by way of reprisal, all cut to pieces. There were others who, in order to avoid this kind of death, flung themselves into the sea, though they could not swim, and were either drowned, or killed with the fire from the muskets. The water of the port was in a little time covered with dead bodies, with heads, arms and mangled limbs. Scarce had there ever been seen a more hideous and dreadful spectacle ; and of four thousand men whom the general had put on board for this enterprise, there hardly escaped five hundred, and most of these were grievously wounded.

THE order, not to reckon the private soldiers, lost near an hundred persons of distinction, who were either knights or secular gentlemen, and whom a zeal for the Christian religion had brought to Malta. Among these they particularly regreted the loss of brother Frederic de Toledo, son to the viceroy of Sicily, a young knight, whom the grand master, out of regard to his father, who was vastly fond of him, had always kept near his person ; but the young gentleman, hearing the distress that the knights who defended the Spur of St. Michael were in, stole away from him, and ran to that part which was most in danger, where he was killed by a cannon-ball. His death proved fatal to the chevalier de Savoguerre, who, being close by him, was killed by a splinter of his cuirass. At the same time another ball killed the chevalier Simon de Sousa, a Portuguese, and shot off the arm of the chevalier Gaspard de Pontevez, of the language of Provence. The chevaliers Simiane de Gordes serjeant-major, Mello a Portuguese, Roderic de Cardinez, and Brunefay de Quiney, who had brought the first succours into the island, though wounded, would not yet quit their post. The grand master could not prevail upon them to retire into the infirmary ; but they, getting themselves dressed on the spot, stayed on the place where they had received their wounds.

NOR was less blood shed on both sides at the viceroy of Algier's attack. This commander, after having ordered the signal for the assault to be given by a cannon-ball, advanced boldly at the head of his troops to the several breaches which the artillery had made on the side of the Bormole, and the castle of St. Michael. The Algerine troops, which he had kept with him, were in the front of the attack, and came forward with so much heat and resolution, that they soon planted their ensigns along the parapets. Colonel Robles, a person of celebrated valour, and yet more so for his experience in war, commanded at that post : he, in order to stop the first impetuosity of the infidels, saluted them with the fire of all his artillery, which they had

had purposely charged with cartridges ; and the shot flying through the thickest of their battalions, made at first an horrible massacre, and whilst they were putting fresh charges into the cannon, and the mortar pieces, a good number of Castilian and Portuguese knights, who were posted along the flank of the Bormole, discharged such a terrible fire from their small arms, that the Algerines, in spite of all their bravery and resolution, were not able to withstand the fury of it, so that their commander drew them off, and marching along the side of the parapet, led them to another breach, where, as some deserters had informed him, he should meet with less resistance.

THE chevaliers Carlo-Ruso, and la Ricca, both captains of gallies, commanded at that post ; who, in order to secure their soldiers from some batteries which the Turks had raised upon the adjoining hills, had hollowed and sunk the earth on the inside of the wall. But the courtin, by this digging away the ground, was made so high, that they were obliged, in order to defend the breach and stand an assault, to throw up immediately a kind of bridge or gallery ; and by reason of the little time that was allowed for that purpose, the work was so ill performed, and withal so narrow, that several knights, and a great number of soldiers, were there destroyed by the fire-works which the Turks were continually throwing at them. The chevaliers Ruso and la Ricca exposing themselves in all places, were dangerously wounded, and quite disabled. They were succeeded by admiral Monti, who commanded in chief. This officer immediately sent for a reinforcement of a party of those knights who had signalized themselves in the defence of the spur, and had just before repulsed the infidels with so much vigour. A considerable number of these, and among the rest Quiney, and the serjeant-major Simione de Gordes, notwithstanding their being wounded, would needs share in these new dangers : they ran to the breach at the head of a company of brave inhabitants ; and, as if the first advantage which they had gained had been a certain earnest

earnest of victory, their presence soon changed the face of the combat. The few knights and soldiers who were left at this post, at the sight of this reinforcement, were inspired with fresh courage, and they all fought with so much intrepidity and resolution, that the viceroy, unable to withstand them any longer, was forced to order a retreat to be sounded, having seen most of his Algerine bravo's drop by his side.

THE basha, despairing to vanquish the knights any other way than by exhausting and wearing them out, resolved not to give them a moment's rest ; and therefore, after having engaged them for five hours together successively, he renewed the assault, and, instead of the Algerines, sent on the Janizaries, whom the grand seignior had given him for this expedition. These soldiers, the main strength of the Ottoman empire, advanced up to it with a bravery that is proof to every kind of danger. 'Twas against this formidable body that the Christians, parched with heat and thirst, and quite spent with fatigue, were forced to take up arms. However, they, as if they had been insensible to the cravings both of hunger and thirst, and to the raging heat of the dog-days, and had been invulnerable, gave the enemy a fresh volley with their small arms, came up with them, and attacked them sword in hand. They now close together, each man seizing his opposite adversary, so that in the midst of a general engagement, there were frequently as many private duels as there were combatants. The Janizaries discovered as much intrepidity as the knights, nor were less backward in braving dangers. The peril and fury of the troops were equal on both sides ; when a Turk, perceiving the slaughter the chevalier de Quiney made of his comrades, and not valuing what became of himself, provided he could but kill him, advanced up to him, and, firing his piece, shot him through the head, but he himself fell the same moment by the sword of another knight. However, the death of this Janizary was but a poor satisfaction for the loss the order sustained by that of so brave a knight. The chevalier de  
Simiane

Simiane survived him but a few moments ; he had put himself at the head of a party of the inhabitants, composed of men, women, and children ; and whilst the latter were throwing stones, fire-works, and boiling oil upon the enemy, he charged them with so much fury, that the Turks, unable to stand it, quitted the breach, and took to their heels, in spite of all the cries and menaces of the basha. Simiane, in order to prevent their officers from bringing them on to a fresh engagement, immediately set pioneers to work, who, in his presence, and by his directions, laid wool-sacks and gabions upon the breach, and dug cuts behind the first barricado, which they fortified with good intrenchments. But as he, regardless of his own safety, was employing himself in so urgent a work, and which was so necessary for the security of the place, his head was struck off by a cannon-ball. Thus died a knight, who was one of the most distinguished of his language, on account of his birth, and still more so by his bravery and skill in the art of war. Upwards of forty more, and about two hundred soldiers, lost their lives in this last attack. As they fought with very little intermission, and that numbers of them were daily killed and wounded, they were obliged to fill up their places with new officers ; so that the commander Anthony du Fay, of the family of St. Romain, was made serjeant-major, and the post of Carlo-ruso and la Ricca, who were both mortally wounded, was given to the chevaliers John Antonio Grugno, and Julio Malvicino, who had both some skill in fortifications, and in the art of attacking and defending of fortresses.

THE basha, whom neither the greatness of dangers, nor the difficulties he met with could dishearten, ordered a bridge to be framed after the model of that which he had made at the siege of St. Elmo, composed of the sail-yards and masts of ships. The grand master, who foresaw the consequences of it, and the advantage it would be of to the Turks in storming the place, attempted twice to set it on fire in the night : but his soldiers were repulled both times, and the en-

terprise appeared so difficult, that they were convinced it would be impossible for them to succeed in it but in the day-time. The danger was evident from the great number of Janizaries, all of them excellent musketeers, who were posted on the counterescarp. The grand master, as a proof that his nearest relations were not dearer to him than the other knights, ordered Henry de la Valette, his brother's son, to make the attempt. The young knight, who was full of fire and spirit, in company with the chevalier de Polastron, his particular friend, sallied out at the head of a good number of soldiers, in broad day-light. As the bridge was not yet well fixed, he thought to break it down by tying strong ropes and cables to the posts and principal beams that supported it, and afterwards to draw them by main force out of their place, and so make the whole work fall to pieces. The soldiers at first set about it with resolution enough; but as they worked in a place which was exposed to the enemies fire, they were demolished in a moment by a storm of small shot, which killed abundance of them, and forced the rest to retire for shelter under the fortifications of the castle. Young Valette, and the chevalier de Polastron, were too brave to follow the example of their soldiers; and, not minding whether they followed them or not, endeavoured to supply what was defective on their part, and to fasten the ropes themselves to the props of the bridge. But they met with the same fate as their soldiers; for they were scarce got down to the foot of the bridge, when they were shot by two musket balls, that killed them on the spot. As the basha had offered a reward for every knight's head that should be brought him, some Janizaries advanced immediately to cut off those of la Valette and Polastron. But the Christian soldiers were in such concern at having deserted their officers, that they chose rather to lose their lives as they had done, than to return back into the town without at least bringing off their bodies along with them. This brought on an engagement between the two parties; and the dispute who should get possession of the dead  
bodies,

bodies, was the occasion that many lost their lives on both sides. But the Christians, being either stronger, or more obstinate in the engagement, gained their point at last, and retired back into the place with this sorrowful advantage.

THE grand master bore the death of his nephew with great constancy of mind, and added this virtue to the shining qualities which he discovered during the whole course of the siege ; and when some old knights were going to condole with him on his loss, “ All the knights, says he to them, are alike dear to me ; I consider them all as my children, and I am as sensibly concerned at Polastron’s death, as that of la Valette : after all, they have only got the start of us for some days : and in case the Sicilian succours do not arrive, and that there is no possibility of saving Malta, we must all die to a man, and be buried under its ruins.” Whereupon an old commander telling him, that he had been informed by a deserter, that the basha had sworn, in case he should take Malta, to put all the knights to the sword, and reserve only the grand master, in order to present him to the grand seignior : “ I shall take care to prevent him, replied la Valette ; and if the siege, so contrary to my hopes, should end in so fatal a manner, I declare, says he, before you all, addressing himself to the knights who were about him, that I am resolved, in that extremity, rather than they shall ever see, whilst I am alive, a grand master carried in chains to Constantinople, to dress my self like a private soldier, and rush into the midst of the enemies battalions, there to be killed, and there die with my children and brethren.”

SUCH were the sentiments of this great man, so truly worthy of his dignity ; and we may justly affirm, and indeed all the knights of that time agreed, that the main strength of the island lay in the virtue, the courage, the resolution, and foresight of la Valette, and that the safety of Malta depended entirely upon his preservation. However, he valued his own life less

than he did that of others ; and after having been in person to reconnoitre the bridge, where his nephew had been killed, he ordered an hole to be made in the wall over against it, and on the same level, where he planted a piece of artillery, which fired with such success, that it soon shattered the bridge, and the night following they set fire to it, and burnt it to ashes.

THE basha, enraged at such a resistance, and fearing that the ill success of the siege might draw upon him the sultan's displeasure, called an extraordinary council of war. He there first gave them an account of all he had hitherto transacted for the taking of the several fortresses of the island, and then represented to them, that the only reason of his attacking fort St. Michael, was, because it seemed the weakest in the whole island, which, if he could once take, it would open him a way for the reducing of the great town and castle of St. Angelo ; that however, he had not neglected to batter incessantly this last place, with his artillery from mount Salvator, and other adjacent posts ; and that the subject of their present meeting was to consider whether they should give over the attack of the isle de la Sangle, in order to unite all their forces against the castle of St. Angelo ; or whether it were not better, in order to divide and weaken the forces of the besieged, to carry on the attack in different places at the same time.

THE council, after a mature consideration of the reasons on both sides, agreed to the last proposal ; and it was accordingly resolved, that the basha, with the viceroy of Algiers, should continue the attack of the isle, whilst admiral Piali, with his marines, should lay siege to the great town and the castle of St. Angelo : and that, in order to prevent the viceroy of Sicily's throwing any succours into these places, Candieffa, Hassan's lieutenant, should guard the sea with fourscore gallies well armed.

THE basha, pursuant to this scheme, renewed his batteries against the isle de la Sangle ; so that not only the walls and bastions of the fort were demolished, but  
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the very houses of the town, and the inside of the castle were likewise very much damaged, and there was scarce a place in it but what bore some marks of the fury of the cannon. Admiral Piali, on his side, that he might not be out-done by Mustapha, in his eagerness for pushing forward his work, raised a new battery upon mount Salvator of twenty cannons, among which were three basilises, or great cannons, and two mortars, some of which threw stone-bullets of three hundred pound weight, and others iron balls of sixty, and some of fourscore pounds. All these different batteries played incessantly upon the post of Castile, the flank of the post of Auvergne, and all other parts of the fortifications, as far as the infirmary.

HIS engineers directed their principal attack against the post of Castile, so that the trenches and other works were very far advanced-on that side. They laboured at them night and day with indefatigable industry, not so much as resting in the hottest part of the day; inso-much that in a little time they ran them up to the walls of the place, and intrenched themselves so well with the earth which they dug up, and the stones which were shot against the town, that the workmen were all under covert.

THE siege grew more and more bloody every day, and worse to be dreaded for its consequences; the infidels did not allow the besieged a moment's rest; one while they attacked a single place, and anon they assaulted several together at the same time. The Christians indeed repulsed them with vigour, and killed them abundance of men; but yet, considering the disproportion of their forces, they might be said to lose more than the Turks, and their garrisons were daily weakened. The basha, after having harassed them for four days together with continual skirmishes, and offers of attempting a scalado in several places, made, August the second, a fresh assault on fort St. Michael. The infidels, in hopes of plunder, advanced up to the breach with great resolution. The besieged sustained the attack courageously, and repulsed the enemy; their

officers, during the six hours that the attack lasted, brought them on five several times to the assault; but they were always received with the same intrepidity. As their troops, and particularly the Janizaries, exposed themselves boldly, the knights made an horrible slaughter of them, and the basha, fearing lest all the rest should be cut to pieces, ordered a retreat to be sounded.

FIVE days afterwards, which was the seventh of the same month, Mustapha made another assault; and, in order to oblige the besieged to divide their forces, sent three thousand men to attack the bastion of Castile, whilst he himself marched at the head of eight thousand to storm the fort of St. Michael. The only weapons that were chiefly fought with at the post of Castile, were arrows and small arms: their design was to draw the principal forces of the order on that side; for which purpose the Turkish musketeers and archers advanced but slowly to the storm. But their greatest efforts, and the real attack was against fort St. Michael. The Janizaries, who were in the front, advanced boldly with great shouts, according to their usual custom; they were answered by a terrible fire from the place, which killed them abundance of men before they could come near the walls: but they, without being daunted at seeing nothing but death all around them, marched with intrepidity over the bodies of their comrades, and forced their way to the top of the breach, where both parties, as if they had been in the field, fought with equal fury for four hours together; the Turks were for keeping the posts they had seized upon, and the Christians exerted themselves to the utmost, in order to prevent their making a lodgement there. Among the latter, all, even to the very women, signalized themselves against the infidels: and whilst the peasant and the citizen were defending their country, their wives and children fought with an intrepidity which equalled, in some measure, the resolute bravery of the knights: and if paternal or conjugal love inspired those men with a courage and force, to which they had been  
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been hitherto insensible, there were not wanting heroic women, who ran to the assistance of their fathers, their brothers, and their husbands, and who generously exposed themselves to the greatest dangers.

SOME of these brought stones, arrows, victuals and refreshments to the combatants, whilst others of a more dauntless spirit mixed in the fray, and threw fire-works, scalding water, and melted pitch upon the Turks: the fear they had of losing their honour and their liberty, in case they should fall into the hands of the infidels, inspired these brave women with a contempt of all the horrors of impending death. The Turks, still furious and eager for fighting, and enraged to see their courage opposed by such feeble enemies, fell upon them without mercy, so that several of them died by their weapons, and the fire-works which they threw at them. The breach and the castle seemed all on fire, and the tumult of the combatants, the clashing of their arms, the cries of the soldiers, the groans of the wounded, and of the persons of both sexes who were just expiring, and lay confounded together upon the ground, formed a spectacle that was as moving as it was dreadful.

THE basha, who had posted himself at the foot of the breach, ran with his sabre in hand, on all sides, exhorting, intreating and threatening his soldiers, and crying out, that if they would but exert themselves a little more, they would certainly carry the place. He, with his own hand, killed two janizaries who had thrown themselves down from the breach, in order to prevent their falling by the sword of the knights. The rest of his soldiers, terrified by this action, and seeing that the swords of their officers were as fatal as those of their enemies, laid aside all thoughts of putting an end to the engagement any otherwise than by cutting all the besieged to pieces. Each single janizary fought with as much eagerness, as if the victory had depended on himself only. In fine, after the assault had lasted upwards of four hours, and at a time when the grand master was in some pain about the success of it; the basha,

basha, to the great astonishment of the Christians, as well as of the Turks, ordered a retreat to be founded. They were afterwards informed, that the commander Mesqueta, governor of the Notable-city, had been the occasion of it.

MUSQUETA, who was an old officer, and a man whose vigilance extended it self to all places, seeing, from the highest part of the city, that the castle of St. Michael looked as if all in a blaze, made no question, but that the Turks were attempting a storm, and that the besieged were attacked with the utmost vigour; upon which he ordered a body of cavalry to march out of the place, each trooper carrying a foot-soldier behind him, in order to make a diversion. The chevaliers de Lugny and Vertura commanded this detachment, who were ordered to go and discover how things stood at the fountain of la Marza, and moreover, to attempt to surprise and carry off the sick and wounded soldiers, whom the basha had lodged in that place, for the sake of water, and the coolness of the place; but he had not given them a strong enough guard. The chevalier de Lugny, leaving his infantry in ambush in a neighbouring village or hamlet, called Azabugi, in order to secure his retreat, advanced to the fountain, and, finding that the guards of the hospital were dispersed up and down the neighbouring hills, the better to view the two assaults, he ordered his troopers to alight, who, falling upon the sick and wounded, made a dreadful havock among them. The surprise and confusion that generally attend on such unexpected attacks, the cries and groans of the dying, the flight of such of the wounded as could escape the fury of the Christians, all these circumstances united, spread a general terror over the Turkish camp; the fugitives gave out it was the van of the Sicilian army, and of the Christian succours, which being landed near that place, were marching forward to raise the siege. This report soon came to the basha's ears; and as in a general consternation, reason often serves to no other purpose than to augment the terror and belief of the danger, Mustapha, though  
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an excellent officer, was imposed upon by the current mistake. This had been the occasion of his commanding a retreat to be founded ; when rallying his troops, he put himself at their head, and advanced towards the place where he expected to meet the enemy : but he found a general solitude in all places. For the chevalier de Lugny, after executing his general's orders, had judiciously withdrawn himself. The basha, arriving at the fountain of laMarza, and being informed that this bold enterprise had been atchieved by a party of the garrison of the city only, he fell into a violent passion ; and that which particularly made his rage and shame still greater was, that he had suffered himself to be imposed upon so vastly, and had discontinued an assault at a time when he had reason to hope he should succeed in it. Whereupon he was firmly resolved to return to the breach, renew the attack, and either die upon it, or carry the place. But his principal officers represented to him, that night was coming on ; that his troops were excessively fatigued with the heat and obstinacy of the battle, and that it was absolutely necessary to allow them time to refresh themselves. These reasons prevailed upon him to return back to the camp, when they waited upon him to his tent, where he spent the night in forming new projects, in order to make himself master of the bulwark of Castile, and the fort of St. Michael.

THE basha had not omitted one of those various kinds of attacks, which the fatal science of war had invented for the taking of fortresses ; trenches, places of arms, redoubts, cavaliers, saps, mines, escaladoes, batteries upon batteries, planted in various places, and assaults renewed almost every day ; in a word, every thing had been hitherto attempted, and generally baffled by the valour of the knights. Their presence upon the breach, and their intrepidity, had supplied the places of the strongest bastions. The Turkish general, in order to conceal his design, and prevent their taking measures to oppose it, had again recourse to mines : his pioneers and soldiers worked at them continually. The  
knights

knights at the same time exerting themselves to the utmost, in order to discover and countermine them, when they often met with the infidels, and came to an engagement with them in those subterraneous passages. The great dispute in these combats was, who should keep possession of the chamber of the mine, and it frequently happened that both parties were destroyed, either by the mine's taking fire, or by the falling and weight of the earth that was blown up into the air, and which fell back again upon the combatants. But the grand master and his officers could not discover all these mines; several escaped the observations and search of the ablest engineers: The Turks had run some by different channels under fort St. Michael, and the bulwark of Castile, both which places were entirely undermined.

THE grand master and his knights, being always in a manner between two fires, were not even safe on the ground they stood upon; and they had as much reason to dread the effects of the cannon as that of the mine, which springing up at once, and without any previous notice, was equally formidable.

IN this dreadful state of things, la Valette wrote to the viceroy of Sicily, to represent to him the great need he had of speedy succours, acquainting him that the fortifications of the island were intirely ruined; that he had lost on different occasions the flower of his knights who had rushed fearless into danger; that such intrepid warriors were not long lived; that most of those who survived were shut up in the infirmary; that the enemy was strongly intrenched before the walls; and that he conjured him, in consideration of the great distress he was in, without either fortifications, troops, or succours, to dispatch away, at least, the two gallees of the order, which lay in the port of Messina, with the knights who were come thither from the remotest countries; it not being just, as he observed at the conclusion of his letter, to be tender of a part, and of a particular limb, when the whole body is exposed to an almost inevitable destruction.

GARSIA, though ever wavering and irresolute, yet seeing it highly concerned both his master's honour as well as his own, to come to a final resolution, proposed the affair in council. John Andrew Doria, whose courage justly merited him the illustrious name of his great uncle, made him a proposal of sitting out all the naval forces of his catholic majesty, and of fighting the infidels at sea. But the viceroy immediately declared, that he had no authority to venture a battle ; nor were the reasons strong enough to engage him to hazard the royal navy : that in case the Turks should happen to be victorious, the coasts of all his catholic majesty's dominions would by that means remain unguarded, and lie exposed to the invasions of the Turks ; so that all that they had to consider was, whether it was the the king's interest to send a part of his troops to Malta : and that, supposing they should come to that resolution, whether it would be practicable to carry over the succours, and land them without danger, and without the knowledge or even in spite of all the opposition the infidels might make. There was no great difficulty as to the last article. The sea officers, whose opinion was first asked, unanimously agreed and demonstrated, that a body of troops might be easily landed in the island. But the land officers were divided in opinion, with regard to the second question, Alvarez de Sande, a famous captain, of whom mention has been already made, with respect to the siege which he sustained in the isle of Garbes, was intirely against the enterprize, and maintained stiffly, that the king of Spain was neither bound in justice, nor engaged by his own interest, to hazard his troops ; that it was la Valette's business to consider his own circumstances, and the condition of his forces, before he carried matters to too great an extremity, and that he, in imitation of the grand master Villiers de Lisle Adam, one of his latest predecessors, might enter into a treaty with the enemy, and quit the island upon tolerable conditions.

SUCH as were acquainted with Sande's valour, and heard him deliver his opinion with so much weakness, could

could not possibly dive into the motives of it. Some ascribed it to the fear he was under of falling again into the hands of the Turks, who had treated him cruelly during his captivity ; others suspected, that he did it only in order to make his court to the viceroy, and perhaps to Philip himself, who, as we have already observed, minded nothing but shew, and who, after having got together a numerous fleet, levied troops in all his territories, and filled all Europe with the noise and expectation of the succour he pretended to send, would not perhaps have been displeased that a council of war, composed of the ablest generals of the age, should have thought it improper for him to hazard a part of his army.

BUT Ascanio della Corna, who had gained a great reputation in the wars of Piedmont and Italy, maintained warmly, on the contrary, that they could not decline sending succours to the knights of Malta, without exposing themselves to an eternity of reproaches. He represented that they, ever since their establishment at Malta, had always exerted themselves with the utmost bravery in the defence of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily ; that whenever the infidels were to be engaged at sea, or that a war was to be carried on in Africa, they had always joined the fleets and armies of his catholic majesty, and had been ever forward to expose themselves to the greatest dangers for his service ; that the business then in question was the preservation of an illustrious order, an order which, without any ambitious views, and without ever attempting to make one single conquest for its own private advantage, was continually in arms, and daily sacrificing its lives for the defence of the territories and subjects of all Christian princes with the utmost impartiality. He then descended to particulars, and remonstrated, that as the sea officers had agreed that they might convey and afterwards land the succours in the island without any danger, so those who were to command on shore might, by posting themselves advantageously, and by the favour of the rocks, the hills, and passes, with which the island abound-

abounded, easily advance within sight of the places besieged ; in which case the Turks, as they had not at that time above 15 or 16,000 men left, and all of them extremely harrassed, would be obliged either to raise the siege, or be themselves invested ; that the infidels would be obliged to oppose the attacks of the Christian army, and the sallies of the knights, and that at one and the same time, and in the midst of such engagements, it would be an easy matter for them to throw succours into the forts, and to change, or at least reinforce the garrisons.

THIS advice, being more generous, was carried by a plurality of voices ; the viceroy himself came into it, and, in order to apologize for his affected delays, he wrote immediately to the grand master, by which he informed him, that he had just received orders from Madrid which left him at liberty to follow the dictates of his zeal and inclination for the order ; that he would be at Malta towards the latter end of the month with 12000 land forces ; that Doria and Vitelli were to bring 4000 more from Italy, and that he would immediately send away the two gallies of the order, under the command of the chevaliers de Cornuſton, and St. Aubin, with upwards of 200 knights, besides a great many gentlemen of different nations, who were come to Messina in order to signalize themselves in the defence of Malta ; that indeed, the king of Spain his master, had ordered him, as soon as he should have landed the troops, to return back with the ships and gallies to Sicily ; that notwithstanding the earnest desire he had to distinguish himself at the head of his army, he was indispeniably obliged to obey ; but that he, pursuant to his prince's intentions, would, before his setting out, leave express orders with his general officers, to submit to him as to their commander in chief.

How agreeable soever these positive assurances might be, the grand master, who depended only on his own forces, was still as careful and vigilant as ever : he was continually visiting the advanced posts, was ever exhorting and encouraging the soldiers, and as he expos-

ed himself in places of the greatest danger, he was frequently the first man who engaged the enemy.

THE knights, under the conduct of so heroic a general, were all of them continually fighting, or busied in some labour; and if the historians of that time did not assure us of the fact, we could hardly think it probable, that such an handful of warriors could have been able to hold out so long as they did, against such a number of attacks as they sustained, or bear up during such a series of watching, wounds, and fatigues. Nor did the Turks discover less bravery; and, above all, their generals could not so much as reflect upon the obstinacy of their defence, without shame and vexation. Mustapha and Piali, from a mutual emulation, attempted every thing that open force could do, and employed all the stratagems that the science of war could suggest; and exposed their own persons to the greatest dangers, as freely as they did those of their soldiers, in the hopes they had, that he who should first make himself master of the post he attacked, would be honoured by the Sultan with the merits of the whole enterprise.

THIS emulation inspired the two generals with a resolution of either dying in the breach, or carrying the forts which they attacked. In pursuance of which, they agreed to attempt a new storm; to continue it, if necessary, for several days, and even nights together, and by that means weary out the knights, and vanquish them at least by exhausting their strength, in case they could not triumph over their valour.

PURSUANT to this resolution, they, on the 18th of the month, at noon, in the greatest heat of the day, advanced at the head of their several bodies, imagining they should find the knights asleep, and retired under the shade and shelter of their intrenchments. The basha commanded his soldiers to storm the breach of St. Michael, and the Turkish admiral that of the bastion of Castile. Both the attacks were made with great resolution, but with various success at first.

SOME hours before the attack began at fort St. Michael, the infidels had made such a terrible fire upon it, that

that they did not leave so much as the least piece of a wall, fortification, or even intrenchment, standing. The basha then ordered his men to attempt a storm; and, as they were the very flower of his troops, were brave, and fought under the eye of their general, they performed wonders. The knights received them with an intrepid courage; and, though worn out with fatigue, and the greatest part wounded, they never had before discovered so utter a contempt of danger. No sooner did one drop, but another stepped up in his place; and, after an obstinate engagement, which lasted for upwards of six hours together, they repulsed the enemy, more indeed by the greatness of their courage, than by the vigour of their strength.

THE Turkish admiral's attack on the bastion of Castile was equally dangerous and bloody. He had deferred attempting the storm for some time, in hopes that the grand master, when he should see that he made no motion, would detach some of the troops that were to oppose him, in order to succour the fort of St. Michael, by which means he might make an advantage of their absence; but not finding that any body stirred, he sprung a mine in a place where it was least suspected, which threw down a pannel of the wall. As soon as it had done execution, the besiegers, who were ready for the storm, set up a great shout, mounted the breach in a trice; and the place had been certainly lost, if the knights upon guard there, who were not prepared for their reception, had been susceptible of fear. A chaplain of the order, brother William by name, seeing the Turkish standards set up at the foot of the parapet, ran in a terrible fright to the grand master, and made him signs at a distance to retire immediately into the castle of St. Angelo. But the intrepid old man, clapping on a light head-piece, without staying to put on his cuirass, advanced resolutely with his half-pike in his hand to meet the infidels, when he, and the knights who were with him, gave them such a furious onset, that they could not stand it, and seeing the inhabitants running in crowds to the grand master's assistance, they

began to retire, but still making a terrible fire from their small arms all the time. Mendossa, who commanded at that post, seeing the grand master standing by him, and fearing lest some ball should take him off, begged him on his knees to retire, representing to him that the safety of the island, the lives, the liberty and honour of the women and maidens, depended on his preservation, and that if they should lose him all would be lost. But the grand master pointing to the Turkish standards, which were still hoisted and waving in the wind, told him, that he must first see those trophies of the infidels demolished; upon which all the knights who were about him rushed forwards immediately, when a new combat ensued, in which the bravest men fell on both sides: at last the standards were tore down, and the infidels forced to retire in disorder, covered with blood and wounds. The grand master made no question but that their leaders would soon bring them on to the same attack, and therefore ordered quarters to be got ready for him there: the knights did not fail to represent to him, that he had made choice of a place which lay exposed to the enemy's artillery; but as he was sensible of the importance of that post, and how necessary his presence was to defend it, nothing could prevail upon him to remove from it. So after thanking the knights for the testimonies they gave him of their affection, "Will it be possible for me, says he to them, at the age of seventy one, to end my life more gloriously, than in fighting with my brethren and my friends for the service of God, and the defence of our holy religion?"

THE Turks, as the grand master had foreseen, returned that very night to storm both places: the attack was chiefly carried on with small shot, and the besieged on their side plied their enemies on all sides with granadoes, flaming hoops, and fire-works, so that they fought almost by no other light, than that which was made by the fire of the artillery and small arms. The Turkish soldiers at the foot of the breach, not knowing how to direct their own shot, or secure themselves

selves from that of the Christians, gave over the attack several times; but their officers striking and cutting them with their canes and scimiters, forced them back as often. The soldiers who were as much incensed at this treatment, as disheartened by the resistance of the knights, and being unable either to advance upon the works or retire, resolved to impose upon their generals; when, as if they had been still attacking the knights, they only struck their swords upon their bucklers, and let up their shouts as usual in battle. But the basha perceiving at last, notwithstanding the darkness, that all the cries and noise they made was a meer sham, thought proper to defer the attack till day should appear, and immediately ordered a retreat to be sounded.

I CANNOT tell whether I may not have just reason to fear, that the reader will be tired with the repetitions of so many assaults, so little different from one another; but as both parties distinguished themselves in those scenes by performing the most brave, and the most heroic actions, and as the knights particularly, though reduced to a small number, sustained for some months, both day and night, the continual attacks of a numberless multitude of enemies, who relieved one another by turns, but never allowed them a moment's rest, I imagined that this detail might be of use, as it gives a more just idea of the intrepidity of the combatants; and that I was moreover obliged to it, in order that my narration might not be wanting in exactness.

BE that as it will, the basha the day following, being August 19, gave the signal for an assault at both attacks, by a general discharge of his batteries. The Turks came on with fresh resolution to that of St. Michael, hoping to make themselves masters at least of the ravelin. What gave room to these hopes was a machine, being a kind of carcasse, but much larger, made in the shape of a long barrel, covered over with iron hoops, and filled with gun-powder, chains, nails, bullets, and all kind of iron instruments. The engineer, after having fastened a match of a proper length to it, found means to throw it upon the ravelin,

where it fell among the knights who defended it. But they, no way daunted at this smoking machine, caught it up before it took fire, and threw it back upon the enemy, who were crowding to mount the breach : it burst a moment after, and, tearing every thing to pieces that came in its way, sent heads, legs, and arms, up into the air. The Turks, in a fright, immediately dispersed themselves ; some fled as far as their trenches, when the Christian soldiers, animated with this dismal spectacle, and in order to make their advantage of the terror their enemies were in, fell in among them sword in hand, made a terrible havock, and forced the rest to retire.

PIALI's attack at the bastion of Castile was more dangerous, and lasted a considerable while longer. The infidels came on with an air of resolution, and in spite of the continual fire of the Christians, which killed them abundance of men, they forced their way to the top of the parapet, and fixed their standards upon it. At the shouts the Turks gave, who fancied they were masters of the place, la Valette, who was not far off, ran thither with pike in hand, and charged the enemy with the utmost fury. The infidels resisted them with the same intrepidity, when they fought together with their pieces at their adversaries breast. The commander of Bonnefigne lost his eye by a musket-ball, as he was fighting by the grand master's side ; others fell by the sword and fire-works. The grand master, advancing too far in the danger not to have his share of it, was wounded dangerously in the leg by the splinter of a grenado. He generously disregarded it as long as the combat lasted, continuing still, by his speeches as well as example, to animate his men, and thereby prevailed upon the common soldiers to fight, and behave themselves like so many officers, and as men who were inspired with a true sense of glory. A zeal for religion had the like effect upon the minds of the peasants and townsmen, by making them slight all the horrors of surrounding death, and put all the combatants as it were upon a level. A considerable number  
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of knights, braving the impending danger, met here with an honourable period to their lives. Cencio Casconi, an old knight, who commanded at the Spur of St. Michael, informed of the danger to which the grand master was exposed, ran to his succour with a body of soldiers and inhabitants, and was the first who mounted on the parapet, together with the chevaliers Bergia, Mendossa, Don John, and de la Roche Pereyra. Pikes and swords were then the only weapons used; the Turks and Christians often grappled together, and fought with a rage and fury as if every private man had been revenging an old quarrel, and gratifying a personal hatred. Both parties were continually sending new reinforcements to the combatants, which made the battle last till night. In fine, the knights who fought in the grand master's presence, made such powerful efforts, that they recovered the parapet, and drove out the infidels.

MUSTAPHA, who neither allowed his enemies nor his own troops any interval of rest, attempted another storm the day following, which was the twentieth; not that, after so many repeated trials, he expected to carry places, so well defended, at once; but as he knew the grand master's strength lay principally in his knights, who were reduced to a small number, his design in carrying on these continual attacks was to take some of them off every day, and by that means at last reduce these two places, as he had already done fort St. Elmo, for their want of men sufficient to defend them.

HOWEVER, as he saw his soldiers began to be dispirited by these perpetual attacks, in which he lost abundance of men, he set himself to contrive a way to secure them from the small shot of the knights, which made a dreadful havock among them. For this purpose he invented a kind of head-piece, made of thin wood, but proof against musket-shot, which reached down to their shoulders. He caused eight thousand of his foot, to put on this new kind of armour, and advanced at their head to attack fort St. Michael: but when they

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were to engage, his soldiers were so encumbered, so uneasy, and so much weighed down with these wooden helmets, that they could neither attack the Christians nor defend themselves; so that they were forced to take off so troublesome a load, and then, naked as it were, advanced boldly to attack the fort. They were led on by Cheder, sangiac or governor of Bosline, an old officer of good reputation in the army, who had promised the basha either to carry the work, or die in the attempt. This old soldier, who was used on fighting-days to wear fine cloaths, the better to distinguish himself, was then dressed in a rich vest, and advancing boldly up to the parapet, commanded the officer who carried his ensign, to hold it aloft; but the officer was soon killed, and the ensign thrown down. Upon this the sangiac immediately ordered it to be taken up again; and though the post he was in was very much exposed, and several Turks were killed successively one after another in the attempt, he still had it raised and hoisted aloft in the sight of the combatants during all the time the storm lasted. In fine, the last who carried it, having met with the same fate as his comrades, he himself took it; and holding it in one hand, and his scimiter in the other, he fought, and obliged his soldiers to fight with wonderful resolution. But his fine cloaths drawing all eyes upon him, and his valour, and the deadly blows which he dealt about, distinguishing him still more, the chevalier Passoa, the grand master's page, killed him with a musket-ball, when a Turkish officer immediately took his place, and encouraged the soldiers to revenge the death of their general.

THEY indeed maintained at first their post with resolution enough; and so many single combats were, as it were fought, between several officers of both parties about who should get possession of the sangiac's body. The Turks at last carried it off; but they were so warmly pursued, that they were forced to take to their heels. In this rout, a knight threw himself on Cheder's ensign; but he who carried it, though mortally wounded, held it so fast, that he was forced to break the staff of it in  
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his hands, and could only carry off the colours, which were torn to rags. Several knights of distinction were killed in this engagement. The commander John de la Cerda, ashamed of the weakness he had discovered at the defence of fort St. Elmo, had, in order to repair his honour, been for some time past seeking death, as it were, in every post of danger. He at length met with it on this occasion, and died bravely on the breach.

THE Turkish soldiers, beginning to despond after so many bloody storms attempted in vain, the basha found it necessary to allow them an interval of two or three days rest. But on the 20th, a letter was thrown into the great town, which they took up and carried, sealed as it was, to the grand master, who found nothing in it but this one word, *Thursday*. He was not at a loss to understand the meaning of it, and that it was to expect a fresh assault upon that day. He accordingly prepared for it, with his usual courage and resolution; and in order to prevent any surprise, and to sound the disposition of his men, he caused a false alarm to be given on Tuesday the one and twentieth. Every body ran readily to his post; and by this trial the grand master had abundant reason to be pleased with the vigilance of the officers, as well as with the alacrity of the soldiers. He only observed, that by the daily loss they had sustained of a good number of knights, some of them were wanted in certain posts, in order to head and animate the soldiers.

THIS report reached the infirmary; all the wounded knights, who were able to stand upon their legs, bravely sallied out, and, like those of fort St. Elmo, chose rather to face death, and meet it on the breach, than wait for its coming in their beds. The grand master, admiring their generous spirit, distributed them into the several places where they were most wanted: and, finding himself sustained by warriors who seemed to have something in them more than human, he waited with impatience for the return of the enemy.

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BUT he had not long to wait ; for, pursuant to the notice which had been given him, they presented themselves on the twenty-third at both attacks : the basha led on his troops in person to storm fort St. Michael. This place, during the sickness of admiral Monti, was defended by the marshal Copier, the commander Giou general of the gallies, and by a considerable number of the principal commanders of the order. The Turks, animated by Mustapha's presence and example, fought with great courage ; none of them boggled at danger, nor did they meet with a less vigorous resistance from the besieged. If the Turks, by making a bold struggle, ever got an inch of ground, they were soon repulsed from it by the Christians. Each party had its alternative of good and ill success, without any one's being able to judge on what side the victory inclined : the basha discovered, on this occasion, all that the bravery and conduct of a great general could perform, in order to surmount the disadvantages of his situation ; but the knights, having an advantage in their post, made such a terrible fire with their small arms, from the top of the breach, and were so well seconded by all their artillery, that the Turks, after having lost abundance of their men, lost likewise their courage. Such as were farthest off the breach began to steal away from the danger ; such as were nearer and more exposed took to their heels ; nay, even their very officers gave back, and, in spite of all the basha could either say or do, he could never bring them on to the storm again, so that he was forced to command a retreat to be sounded, in order to save the honour of his troops.

BUT the attack of the bulwark of Castile lasted longer, and was carried on with more vigour, and attended with greater danger : it was ushered in with a furious fire from the Turkish batteries, which played upon the breach in order to drive the Christians from thence, at the same time that a body of Janizaries, assisted by a crowd of pioneers, were raising a kind of platform close by the wall, and higher than the parapet : they here posted a party of musketeers, who made such a  
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continual fire upon the besieged, that no body could appear either on the breach, or along the parapet, but was immediately killed. The grand master, who was ever in the hottest part of the fire, and of the danger, ran to the place ; his presence inspired the besieged with fresh courage ; nor was that of the besiegers any way damped ; and though the whole time was spent in firing at one another, the combat was nevertheless bloody. It lasted till night, and in spite of all the fire the grand master could possibly make from all his batteries, he yet was not able to silence that of the enemy, who flattered themselves, as their cavalier commanded the breach, that they should make themselves masters of it the next day.

THINGS being in this deplorable condition, the council of the order met to consider what measures were proper to be taken : the town was undermined on all sides, the fortifications ruined, the enemy in possession of the out-works, and the breach in a manner blocked up by the cavalier, which was so close to the wall that the infidels could leap from it into the place. Most of the great crosses advised the grand master to abandon it ; to blow up what fortifications were left, and to retire in time with their ammunition and provisions into the castle of St. Angelo, which had as yet received no damage. They represented to him the danger they were in of the fortrels's being carried the next time a storm should be attempted, in case they should obstinately resolve to make a longer, and at the same time, useless resistance ; that in the hurry and confusion of a forced retreat, they would not probably have time to get to that fortress, the last that was left them ; that the old men, and the women, would be in danger of falling a prey to the fury and brutality of the barbarians ; whereas, on the contrary, if a strong guard was but put upon the breach, they would have leisure enough, whilst the soldiers and inhabitants should be retiring, to carry their ammunition and provisions into the castle, and to take such precautions as should be necessary for its security and defence.

THE grand master rejected this advice with as much horror and indignation, as if they had proposed the delivering up of the whole island to the infidels; upon which he shewed the council, that the great town, and the isle de la Sangle, which still held out, lay so near together, and that there was such a reciprocal and necessary communication between them, that there was no defending or abandoning the one without the other, so that the giving up the bulwark of Castile to the enemy would be to give up fort St. Michael at the same time; besides, that the castle of St. Angelo could never hold the soldiers, the inhabitants, and the great number of people who were to be taken out of those two places; that the cistern of the castle could not supply water enough for their drink, and that the bare want of a thing so absolutely necessary for the support of life would reduce them in a few days to the fatal necessity of either dying of thirst, or surrendering the place to the Turks. The lords of the council replied, that if there was a necessity of their holding out the town and the castle of St. Michael to the last extremity, they yet begged him to withdraw into the castle of St. Angelo, and carry thither the relics and ornaments of the churches, with the most important writings and papers of the treasury; and that they should be in no pain for themselves, provided his person were but in safety, after which they should face all the perils of a new storm with pleasure. The grand master, who was not to be shaken in what he once had resolved upon, and who foresaw that the carrying of the effects of the order into the castle of St. Angelo would give the soldiers room to imagine, that they were not thought safe enough in the town, rejected this second advice also. and, addressing himself to the whole assembly, " 'Tis here, my dear brethren, said he to them, that we must either die together, or drive out our merciless enemies." And to shew the commanders who were about him, how far he was from retiring into the castle of St. Angelo, or making any provision for his own safety, he only left just a  
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few soldiers in it sufficient to manage the artillery, and drew out all the rest, employing them with the garrison during the whole night long, in making cuts and intrenchments within the place. He himself superintended over these several works, with so much art and capacity, that though the Turks should the next day have carried the first intrenchment, they would still have found another behind it, and that too raised so high as to command them entirely ; so that by disputing every inch of ground with them in this manner, he saw himself in a condition to hold out till such time as the viceroy of Sicily might have an opportunity of coming to his assistance.

HOWEVER, as the platform which the Turks had raised against the wall gave him a secret uneasiness, he communicated his thoughts to the commander de Claramont, of the language of Arragon, whose capacity he well knew, and, by his advice, caused a hole to be opened in the wall the night following, with as little noise as possible. The commander, attended by Francis Guevaradu Pereira, and four other Spanish knights, sallied out at the gap, stole softly along the foot of the wall, till they got upon the platform, and then setting up a great shout, they attacked the guards that Piali had left there, who fancying the whole garrison was falling upon them, fled away with precipitation. Claramont, instead of destroying this work, thought it advisable to fortify it : the grand master immediately sent him a party of soldiers and pioneers, who soon raised a parapet upon it to cover their musketeers. They likewise planted some pieces of cannon upon it, and the Turks were greatly surprised and confounded to see the knights employ a work against them, which they had raised in order to hasten the destruction of the Christians.

THE ill success they had met with at the attack of the post of Castile did not damp the ardor and eagerness of the basha ; perhaps it might have given him an ill-natured pleasure, or, at least, as he flattered himself with the hopes of taking fort St. Michael, he was not sorry

to find that the admiral had not first opened the way to victory, in order to ingross all the honour of it to himself. In the beginning of September, he ordered a new storm to be attempted ; the Janizaries, to whom he had promised the plunder of the place, ran like so many furies to the foot of the breach, nor could the shot of the artillery, the stones, the scalding water, or the fire-works which the besieged poured down upon them, prevent their getting to the top of it. They were already in possession of almost all the bastions of the fort ; there was nothing left between them and the besieged but a wooden partition, and they were so close together, that their muskets crossed one another. The fight lasted for a long time with equal fury ; but at last the insuperable bravery of the knights triumphed over the obstinacy of the Turks. They made them give ground before them, and threw them headlong down from the breach, in spite of all the bastia could do, who now began to despair of reducing the place any other way than by famine, which he still hoped might oblige a body of men to submit to a capitulation, whom he could not vanquish by open force or stratagem.

BUT it was not long before he was informed, that he had more reason to dread a want of provisions than the knights : the commissaries of his stores acquainted him, that a ship, which had been sent to the isle of Gerbes for corn, was taken by the Sicilian gallies ; that they had not meal to serve them for above twenty five days ; and the officers of his artillery told him that their powder was almost spent. Under such unlucky disappointments, and particularly through the fear he was under, lest the sultan should make his head pay for the ill success of the expedition, he resolved to make a last struggle on the *Notable city* : and though the taking of this place, which was situated in the middle of the country, was of no great consequence for the conquest of the island, he yet fancied, if he could but take it, and carry away all its inhabitants with him into slavery, as the surest testimonies of his victory, the  
noise

noise of such an advantage, though not a very material one, would pacify the grand signior; who might likewise be well enough pleased, for the sake of his own reputation, and for the glory of his arms, to have the people dazzled with such an appearance.

WITH this view, on the last day of August, he set out from his camp with four thousand men of his best troops, composed of Janizaries and Spahi. The place had been represented to him as poorly fortified, so that he was in hopes of taking it by escalado. But the strength of places does not consist so much in the bulwarks and bastions with which they are surrounded, as in the valour of the troops, and the capacity of the governor who defends them. Mesquita, the brave Portuguese knight, of whom mention has been already made, though he had but a weak garrison, put on an air of boldness and resolution upon the first approaches of the enemy. He ordered the courtine to be lined with cannons, muskets, pikes, standards, and colours; and, in order to make the Turks believe that his garrison was very numerous, he made the people of the city, and the inhabitants of the country, who had retired thither for refuge, to mount upon the walls with his soldiers: even the women themselves, dressed in mens cloaths, mixed among the rest, and appeared in arms upon the bulwarks and bastions.

THE artillery now began to thunder on all sides, and make a continual fire. The engineers, whom the basha had sent to reconnoitre the town, and the places where they might fix their ladders, were terrified at the sight of these warlike preparations. Their fright made them perhaps fancy them to be greater and more formidable than they were in reality: accordingly they reported to the general, that there was no attempting to carry a fort by escalado, that was defended by such a numerous garrison, without exposing the best troops he had left to be knocked on the head before his eyes; and that such places were not to be taken but by a regular siege, and by attacking them in form. The basha, who had neither forces nor time enough for such

an enterprize, and being, moreover, afraid of being surprised by the succours which were daily expected from Sicily, returned to his camp in the utmost uneasiness, without knowing what measures to take, or on what side to turn his arms. His projects and stratagems were now quite exhausted : in this uncertainty he assembled all the engineers of his army, and pressed them to invent some machine that might be of service in a new assault, and bring this tedious and difficult enterprize to an end. The engineers replied, that they had already exhausted all the secrets of their art, and that the rest depended on the courage and bravery of his troops. However they, in order to satisfy him, framed a wooden tower, which was pushed along upon rollers up to the breach of fort St. Michael. This tower, like the old machines made use of in sieges before the invention of cannons, had several storeys. The highest, which over-looked the place, was filled with musketeers, who poured in their shot upon all that durst shew their heads ; and to secure this last storey from being annoyed by the batteries of the castle, the infidels had no sooner fired a volley ; but they, by means of certain wheels within the machine, and probably by the weight of the counterpoise, and the help of pullies, let down the top of the tower, which was then sheltered by the wall of the place, and rested against it. The Turks, by the help of this machine, killed abundance of men at first ; but a Maltese carpenter, Andrew Cassar by name, a man who was very skilful in his business, after having examined the structure of the tower, caused a loop-hole to be made in the wall, directly opposite to this wooden castle, where he placed a culverin loaded with chain-shot ; and the moment the Turks were hoisting up their machine, he fired his cannon upon it, which took it in the middle, and shattered it to pieces ; so that the soldiers, who were in the highest storey, either broke their necks with the fall, or were bruised to death under its ruins.

THE basha, vexed to the soul to see all his enterprizes miscarry, and uneasy at that which was forming  
against

against him at Messina, resolved to fall to mining again. Accordingly he set his pioneers to work again, and had recourse to this last resource ; not so much in hopes of success, as to keep his troops from imagining that he himself desponded, from his suffering them to continue in inactivity. But the knights, by opening pits and countermines in all suspected places, defeated the measures of the infidels. They likewise, on their side, ran other mines under the posts which the Turks had seized, and blew up a great number of them. The Christians now stood no longer on the defensive, but made several sallies, in which all the advantage was on their side ; so that they began to fancy they could force the Turks to raise the siege, without the assistance of the viceroy. The affected delays of that Spanish nobleman, had, for some time, made the grand master despair of receiving any succours from him ; and though his fleet was in a readiness, and both the officers and soldiers, intended for the service, expressed an extraordinary eagerness to signalize themselves against the infidels, nevertheless, the viceroy could not prevail with himself to set sail ; and his irresolution made it be very much doubted whether he would really embark, or wait for the news of some disaster which he might make use of as a handle to excuse himself from setting out at all.

THE noise however of these preparations had brought above two hundred knights, commanders and great crosses of different languages, to Messina, whose only view of coming thither was in hopes of meeting with ships to transport them to Malta. The viceroy's dilatoriness put them out of all patience ; the greatest part of them never left his palace, so that they besieged him as it were. There were even some of them, who, being bolder than the rest, and finding intreaties could not avail, had recourse to reproaches. The viceroy, who was naturally proud and haughty, complained about it, and was moreover offended, that the knights, when they spoke to him, did not give him the stile of Excellency. Lewis de Lastic, grand prior of Auvergne,

said to him bluntly on this occasion, " Provided, Sir, we do but arrive time enough at Malta to succour the order, I will give you, with all my soul, the title of excellency, of highness, or, if you, please, of majesty." The viceroy only smiled at what he said; and hearing that that old knight was descended of a noble family, and had acquired great honour in France in the wars against the Protestants, he drew him aside, and told him in private, that he, in consideration of his quality and merit, would explain himself to him, and discover the most secret recesses of his heart. He told him, that whatever pomp and outsize might be annexed to his dignity, yet his authority was not answerable to it; that it was not always in his power to follow the impulse of his courage; and that he was the dependant of a prince, who, in order not to expose his own reputation, or bring himself into any difficulties, often left his ministers to guess at his intentions; that ever since he had fancied, from some hints, that he would not be displeased that Malta should be succoured, his first design was to go with all his master's naval force to fight the Turkish admiral; but not having a sufficient number of vessels for that purpose, he had resolved, in concert with the grand master, to throw a body of ten thousand men at least into the island; that he would lead this succour in person; that the chevalier Vincent Anastagi, an excellent engineer, had furnished him with an exact plan of the island, and all the places proper for landing his troops; that the grand master had likewise sent him all the signals and counter-signals which they were to make from the fortresses of the island, and the castle of Goza; and that he hoped to set out from Messina on the twenty-first of August at farthest. He kept his word, and arrived on the twenty-second at Syracuse, which was the general rendezvous of the whole army; when making a general review, it was found to consist of near eight thousand men, most of them old soldiers, and veteran bodies, that had served in all the wars of Italy.

ALVAREZ de Sande commanded the regiment of Naples ; Sancho de Londono that of Milan ; Vincent Vitelli was at the head of a great body of volunteers of Italy and other nations ; and Afcanio della Corna was appointed major-general during their voyage. The viceroy kept the supreme command in his own hands, till fuch time as the troops fhould be landed : but after his departure the council of war, till they fhould have joined the grand mafter, was to determine of all enterprizes by a plurality of voices, and the orders were to be given in the name of his catholic majesty.

ON the first of September all the fleet hoifted fail, and fet out under the difcharge of all the artillery, and with the fhouts of the whole army. The rendezvous was at the little ifle of Linofa ; they met with bad weather, which difperfed their fhips, and drove them out of their courfe, but when the ftorm was over, the viceroy, in order to give them time to come up with him, as well as to refrefh the foldiers, after the fatigue of the fea, put into Favignana, a little ifland near Trapini in Sicily. On the fourth, the fleet put to fea again, and arrived at the little ifland of Linofa, where the viceroy met with letters from the grand mafter, by which he acquainted him, that he might fafely make a defcent about Mugiario, and the road of Melecca, where there was good anchoring. But the viceroy's motions gave them frefh reafon to fufpect that he did not intend to make any ufe of this advice ; for he, inftead of entring the channel of Goza, failed along the fouth coaft of the ifle of Malta, and fuffered himfelf to be difcovered by the Turkish frigates that came out of Marza Siroc. One would have thought, that he did not fo much want to land, as to find fome oppofition that might oblige him to tack about, and return into the ports of Sicily. The ufual accidents that happen at fea furnifhed him with one to his mind ; for there rofe in the night a ftrong gale of wind mixed with rain, which blew with fo much violence, that the van-guard, commanded by Cardona, was feparated from the reft of the fleet. The weather proving calm in the morning, the viceroy difpatched

patched some light frigates to learn whither the wind had driven him ; but they, not meeting with any account of him, he tacked about a second time, and stood away for Sicily, doubled cape Passaro, and put in at Passal, where Cardona, who had been in quest of him to no purpose at Goza, came up and joined him ; but he had first landed his troops. Every body then began to doubt of the succour, and they said publicly, that if it were possible to save Malta, nothing but the invincible valour of the knights could effect it. Such of them as were on board the fleet openly expressed their detestation of the viceroy's timorous prudence, and the excessive precaution he used ; and to make the misfortune still greater, above one thousand five hundred soldiers deserted, so that the army was in a few days reduced to less than six thousand men. The viceroy, startled at so considerable a desertion, relapsed into his usual irresolution : upon which he called a council of war, where he again proposed to them whether or no it might be proper to attempt the relief of Malta. Whilst they were debating this question, a great noise of confused voices and cries was heard at the council-door, demanding that they should set sail immediately. The general officers, who, out of complaisance to the viceroy, had given their opinion in a doubtful and ambiguous manner, were well enough pleased to see the soldiers, who had no measures to keep, come and explain their real sentiments in a bolder manner. The viceroy, by the air of their countenance, and the silence they kept in the midst of a tumult, which their own soldiers had raised, easily penetrated into their real intentions. He stood out no longer. So that he might no longer resist the real sentiments and wishes of the council and the whole army, they reimarked on the sixth, and arrived the same day in the afternoon within sight of Malta. All the fleet shouted for joy when they entered the streight or channel of Goza : but the viceroy, not willing to run the hazard of landing in the night, they, by his orders, came to an anchor, and ranged themselves near the little isles of Comino and Cominote.

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The next day in the morning, being the seventh, the fleet put into the road of Melecca, and landed all the troops, arms, ammunition and provisions designed for the reinforcement. The viceroy went ashore to review them : and, as soon as he had seen them on their march towards the Notable city, he reembarked according to his master's orders, and returned to Sicily. But he, before his departure, at his taking leave of the general officers, promised to bring them, by the thirteenth or fourteenth of the month, a reinforcement of four thousand men more which he expected from Italy, and which, as he told them, were by that time landed at Messina. There arrived likewise, at the same time, several young French noblemen and gentlemen, who flocked thither, out of an eager desire to signalize their courage against the infidels. Among these, says M. de Thou, they reckoned Philip, son to Peter Strozzi, a marshal of France ; Timoleon of Costè Brissac, son to another marshal of France : Roger de Saint Larry of Bellegarde ; Peter de Bourdeilles of Brantôme ; Hardouin de Villiers, Lord la Riviere ; and a few days before them, René le Voyer, viscount Paulmi, and bailiff of Touraine, had landed in that island, in order to go to the succour of an order, which, for three hundred years past, had reckoned several of his ancestors in the number of its most illustrious knights. All these young noblemen were eager to embark with the new reinforcement which was expected from Italy.

MUSTAPHA and Piali, on the report of their spies, had always imagined, that the viceroy's view in assembling together all the ships and gallies that were in the ports of Sicily, was only to try the fate of a sea engagement, in order to open himself a way for the landing of his succours in the great port at the foot of the castle of St. Angelo. But the basha, to defeat his design, had a few days before, barred up the entrance of it with a chain of sail-yards, piles and boats : and ever since the Christian fleet had first appeared off Linosa, the Turkish admiral, with all his naval force, had lain continually at anchor

chor before the great port, in order to hinder the Christians from entering it.

THE landing of the succours in a quite contrary part of the island threw both the generals into a terrible consternation: they were every moment afraid of being attacked by the principal forces of Christendom; so that without informing themselves, according to the rules of war, of the number of men that were in the reinforcement, they raised the siege in a hurry, drew their garrison out of fort St. Elmo, left their heavy cannon behind, and embarked with a precipitation which differed very little from a downright flight. The basha, was no sooner abroad, but he grew ashamed of having suffered himself to be surprised by so sudden a terror. A slave, who had made his escape out of the great town, added greatly to his confusion, by telling him, that the reinforcement which had made sixteen thousand men take to their heels, did not consist of above six thousand, and those too harrassed by the voyage, having no general at their head, and commanded only by officers who were independent from one another, and not well united among themselves; and that it was believed, that were they to see the Turks in their first posts, they would not dare to quit the rocks and passes in which they had intrenched themselves. But the advice came too late, and the infidels, unless they had been minded to begin the siege a-new, could not depend upon their lines and intrenchments.

THE grand master no sooner saw them gone off, and busy in reimbarcking, but he ordered their trenches to be filled up, and their works to be ruined. All the inhabitants, men, women and children, and even the knights, worked at it day and night with that joy and alacrity, which prisoners feel when they are allowed to knock off their fetters. The grand master at the same time sent a garrison into fort St. Elmo, and the Turks saw from on board their fleet the standard of St. John again set up, to their infinite grief and confusion.

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THE basha, who was afraid his head would answer for this ill success, and that the sultan would reproach him with not having dared to look his enemies in the face, summoned a council of war, and a long debate ensued about the measures proper to be taken. The viceroy of Algiers was of opinion, that they should land the troops again, and advance to attack the enemy. He represented to the basha, that in case they were no more than six thousand men, he might fight them with double that number; that if he should get the better, which he might justly expect, his victory would prevent the second reinforcement that the viceroy of Sicily was to bring, from entering the island; and that the knights, who were quite spent, as well as reduced to a small number, and in great want of soldiers, would be forced to capitulate. Piali, who was jealous of Mustapha's credit, and was not sorry that he had miscarried in his enterprise, was of a different opinion, and said, that after they had lost the flower of the Ottoman army, it would be dangerous to expose what was left of their troops, and they dispirited and harassed by a long siege, to an engagement of a fresh body of men, who were impatient of fighting. But the opinion of the viceroy of Algiers, in favour of which the basha had declared, carried it by two votes; so that the landing was resolved on; and the basha, enraged at himself for having raised the siege in such a hurry, and terribly afraid of the reception he should meet with at the porte, in case he returned unsuccessful, resolved either to conquer, or die at the head of his troops, rather than to be put to death by the infamous hands of an executioner; upon which he immediately went ashore himself; but he could hardly prevail with his soldiers to leave the ships. They all made heavy complaints at their being forced, after so tedious and bloody a siege, to return back again to the slaughter. They were obliged to be torn in a manner from on board, and their officers could not get them to go ashore without using violence. The basha marched with the best part of them towards the Notable city, where he

flattered

flattered himself he should meet the Christians. And, in order to secure his retreat on board his ships in case of ill success, he left the viceroy of Algiers, at the head of fifteen hundred men by the sea-side. Piali, who, ever since the knights had taken possession of St. Elmo, could not continue any longer in port Muzet, in concert with these two generals, put in with his fleet into the road of St. Paul.

THE *basna*, after having thus settled matters, advanced in search of the reinforcement. Ascanio della Corna, who acted as major-general, had intrenched it on an hill, which was very difficult of access, by reason of the defiles or narrow passages that surrounded it.

THE grand master, ever attentive in observing all the motions of the infidels, sent advice to the Christian generals, that the Turks were advancing forward in order to fall upon them with all their forces ; upon which they immediately called a council of war. Ascanio was of opinion, that they should wait the coming up of the enemy in their camp, representing, that it would be impossible for the Turks to attack a place in front which was so strong by its situation, without exposing themselves to all the fire of their artillery ; that they were covered by the city on that side, and on the other, by a monastery that was fortified by nature, in which they had thrown a body of troops, and that the infidels must pass under all their fire before they could fall upon his camp ; that as the enemy had brought no provisions nor equipages along with them, they could not possibly stay long in the plain, as they would be so much exposed to the excessive heat of the sun, and that after a few light skirmishes, they, without running any hazard, would force them to retire and embark on board their ships again.

BUT Alvarez de Sande, the most considerable officer in all the army, was of a contrary opinion, and, in all probability, had a mind, by giving a bold advice, and suitable to his courage, to wipe out the remembrance of that which he had given out of complaisance for the  
viceroy,

viceroi in the council held at Messina, where he had opposed the sending of any succour to Malta; and therefore now declared, that his opinion was, they should draw the whole army out of the camp, and march down the hill to meet the enemy. "We are not advanced so forward, (replied he to Ascanio) to run no hazard, and remain idle spectators of a new storm, which the infidels, if they see they cannot force our intrenchments, will probably attempt upon the great town or the castle of St. Michael. We cannot tell how manfully the Turks may behave when urged by despair: and what a shame will it be for us to stand looking on, whilst they are carrying those places, which after all have no walls, nor any fortifications left, but the bodies only of the knights who defend them?"

OF these two opinions proposed in the council of the Christians, the one was safe, and the other more daring, but at the same time more glorious for him who gave it. Most of the officers were for the latter; and the knights, who came in the Sicilian fleet, were particularly eager for their coming to an engagement. There were at least two hundred knights and commanders; and there was hardly one of the latter but what had brought with him several volunteers who were either his friends or relations and a pretty good number of soldiers; these, united, formed one of the strongest battalions of the army; and they declared, that in case the troops did not quit their intrenchments, they were resolved, though they were all to perish to the last man, to break through the enemy's army, and throw themselves into the places besieged.

BUT they were not obliged to come to such a sad extremity; for de Sande carried it by a plurality of voices: upon which, he marched down into the plain, at the head of the battalion of the order, followed by all the troops, and by Ascanio himself; who, after having protested against the ill consequences that might happen from an enterprise which he termed rash, was nevertheless resolved to share in the danger: with a pike

in his hand he mixed among the knights, fought in the first ranks, and manifested by his bravery, that those who are sometimes accused of too much circumspection in council, are not upon that account less valiant in action. The Christians fought with great courage and resolution. De Sande, at the head of the knights, made a furious charge upon the infidels, whilst Vitelli attacked them in the flank. The Turkish soldiers, who had been dragged against their wills to the engagement, either out of resentment against their general, or because they were quite spent with the heat, were so far from making any gallant efforts to obtain the victory, that they hardly so much as fought. The greatest part of them fired only one volley, and, finding themselves briskly attacked by the Christians, they broke, and shamefully took to their heels. The basha, seeing himself deserted by his men, was reduced, in spite of his courage, to the sad necessity of following the cowards, for fear of falling into the hands of the Christians. It is said, that he was so confused and perplexed at the defeat of his troops, that as he was making off, he fell twice from his horse, and would have certainly been taken, had not some officers ventured their lives or liberties to save him, by halting to give him time to remount on horseback.

THE Christians pursued the infidels briskly; their eagerness to pursue the enemy, made them insensible to the burning heat of the sun. The greatest part of the knights, who were heavy armed, threw off their cuirasses, in order to pursue the Turks the closer; and though most of the infidels they came up with were unable to make the least resistance, but lay extended on the ground, half dead with thirst and weariness, they nevertheless put them all to the sword. It was with infinite difficulty, and a considerable loss, that the Turks made a shift to get to the sea-side. Hitherto the Christians had found it more difficult to come up with their enemies than to fight them; but as the lightest and nimblest of them, flushed with their victory, and eager to pursue the run-aways, had broke their ranks, and  
run

run up and down without any order, the viceroy of Algiers, who lay concealed behind the point of a rock, sallied out of his ambush with his troops ; and, seeing they were but few in number, fell upon them, killed several of them, and took the chevaliers Marc de Toledo, Peter de Yala, Ribatajada, and an English knight, whose name is not mentioned, prisoners. But happily Alvarez de Sande came up before the combat was ended, with some battalions, who charged the Algerines desperately ; and the rest of the Christian troops coming up one after another, they carried all before them, cut to pieces all such as offered to resist, rescued the prisoners, and the Turks, whom fear had already vanquished, left off fighting, and fled to their ships, which gave occasion to a new kind of fighting.

ADMIRAL Piali, in order to favour the retreat of the Turks, did not only make use of the artillery of his gallies, but had lined the shore with shallops manned with his best musketeers, who made a continual fire upon the Christians. But the knights and soldiers, in their eagerness to pursue their enemies, and vexation to see any of them escape, followed them into the sea, in contempt of the fire and other dangers with which they were threatened ; and some of them running up almost breast high into the water, killed the Turks with the shot from their small arms, just as they were getting into their gallies. Historians tell us, that the Turks lost in these several combats, and during the course of the siege, at least thirty thousand men. The admiral, after having taken on board the poor remains of this once formidable army, set sail, and stood away for Sicily. The viceroy, seeing from the castle of <sup>a</sup> Syragossa the Turkish fleet pass by, was informed without an express of the happy success of his reinforcement, and the raising of the siege.

THE grand seignior was prodigiously troubled when he received the news : he threw the letter he received

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from

<sup>a</sup> It is the old Syracuse, now called in the language of the country, Saragossa.

from Mustapha on that subject upon the ground, and, stamping upon it, cried out, that his enterprizes never succeeded but when he himself went in person, and that he would absolutely go the next spring to Malta, when he would put all the knights and inhabitants to the sword. However, that he might not lessen the reputation of his arms, and in order to amuse the people, who are ever fond of being deceived, he, instead of following the barbarous policy of his predecessors, who used to punish the ill success of their generals as a crime, ordered it to be given out at Constantinople, that the basha had reduced the island, and brought away the greatest part of the knights and people as captives; but that as he had not thought proper to leave any of his troops in garrison upon a rock, and in a little desert island at such a distance, he had blown up all the forts, and destroyed the houses; and that in case any Christian corsair should be rash enough to return thither again, they would always be a prey to his fleets, and lie exposed to the mercy of every potentate who should have fleets out at sea.

HOWEVER exaggerated these reports might be, 'tis certain, that, after the siege was raised, the city, or what they called the great town of Malta, had less the air of a place which had been well defended, than of a city taken by storm; and which had been demolished, plundered, destroyed, and abandoned by the enemy. More than two hundred and sixty knights had been killed in the several assaults: and 'tis computed, that eight thousand men, either soldiers or inhabitants, perished in the siege: and when the Turks went off, there was scarce in the great town and the castle of St. Michael, including the knights, six hundred men able to bear arms, most of whom were covered with wounds.

THIS great loss was ascribed not only to the valour of the Turks, but also to the affected delays of the viceroy: his very name was had in detestation by all the knights, of the several nations of Christendom: the grand master likewise complained of him afterwards to the pope.

pope. His holiness wrote to the like effect to the king of Spain ; and though the viceroy in all this conduct, had only followed the private orders he had received from him, nevertheless, Philip, in order to prevent any room for suspicion, condemned these delays publicly, and sometime afterwards, removed the viceroy from Sicily : and, notwithstanding his having received great services from him, he nevertheless let him linger out the remainder of his days at Naples in obscurity, without giving him the least share in the government.

WHILST the auxiliary soldiers, who had relieved the place, were retired near the Notable-city, in order to refresh themselves after the flight of the Turks, the principal officers and all the knights, who came with the reinforcement, went to the great town to pay their compliments to the grand master. They were welcomed by him, by the knights of the place, and by all the inhabitants, as their deliverers. The knights embraced one another with great affection and tenderness; but when they came to call to mind the loss they had lately sustained, by the death of the most illustrious and bravest knights of the order, and considered the deplorable condition of the places which had been besieged, the walls and fortifications in ruins ; the artillery for the most part dismounted ; the houses either demolished or ready to fall ; the magazines without powder, ammunition or provisions ; the inhabitants pale and ghastly ; the knights and the grand master himself, with their beards and hair rough and neglected, and their cloaths dirty and in a slovenly condition, like men that had scarce been in bed for four months together, and several of those brave knights still wearing the honourable bandages which covered their wounds ; this moving spectacle drew tears from their eyes, so much were they affected, either with the remembrance of past disasters, or with joy that Malta had been saved at last ; and, in order to perpetuate the memory of the great events that had happened there ; as the great town had been the principal scene of them, they gave it the name-

of the Victorious City, which it still retains to this day.

'TWAS there the grand master entertained the generals of the auxiliary troops, lodging them in those places which had been least damaged by the Turkish artillery: they were treated in an honourable manner, and with as much plenty as could be expected in a place that had but just sustained a siege for four months together. The grand master's obliging behaviour, and the example of his frugality, made amends for what was wanting in the delicacy of their cheer; and when they came to take leave of him, he made them very handsome presents, and distributed considerable sums of money among their soldiers. The treasury of the order was now quite drained, and la Valette reserved nothing as it were, but the hopes of filling it again afterwards with the plunder of the infidels; it was indeed a pretty sure fund, and had never failed them for several ages together.

THE news of the defeat of the Turks was soon spread over all Christendom; it occasioned an universal joy, and was celebrated with illuminations, bonfires, and public thanksgivings. The name of la Valette was renowned in all nations, especially in Italy and Spain, whose inhabitants were obliged to the knights for the guard and protection of their maritime provinces. Pope Pius IV. and Philip king of Spain, who were the most interested in the preservation of a place which was of such service to them, gave to its intrepid defender the most honourable testimonies of their esteem and gratitude.

THE governor of Rome, by his holiness's order, notified the raising of the siege of Malta to the Romans by the discharge of all his artillery, by bonfires and illuminations, which were made all over the city. The day was kept as a public festival; the magistrates did no business; the tradesmen shut up their shops; in short, there was no place open but the churches; into which the people flocked in crowds, in order to return God thanks for the happy success. All the inhabitants of Spain and Italy, whose fortunes lay on the sea-coast, thought

thought themselves, after raising of the siege, secure from the descents and incursions of the corsairs.

BUT Pius IV. that his acknowledgments might not consist merely in empty praise, sent the grand master word of his being resolved to make him immediately a cardinal. But at the return of the express, they were surprised to hear that he had excused himself from accepting a dignity, which had ever been considered as the testimony and reward of merit, sometimes indeed the price of favour, but always the object of the ambition of the greatest prelates, and sought for as an honour by the sons of kings. The reason which la Valette gave for his declining it was, that he was afraid of confounding the dignity of grand master and cardinal together; two great offices, which, he said, required different functions, and which, instead of supporting, would, on the contrary, be ever interfering with one another. There were some, who, calling to mind that the grand master d'Aubusson had made no such scruple, took occasion, from la Valette's refusing it, to commend him very much upon that account, and to ascribe it to his great modesty: others suspected that there was as much policy as modesty in his refusal, and that the grand master, justly looking upon himself as a sovereign prince, fancied he should lessen his dignity, was he to accept of one that was subordinate. But whatever were his motives, he desired his holiness to bestow that honour upon one of his brothers, who was bishop of Vabres; but the pope's death happening soon after, hindered the French prelate from reaping any benefit from the grand master's recommendation.

IN the first transports of joy, which the brave defence made by la Valette, and the raising of the siege, occasioned over all Europe, and especially in Italy, nothing could hardly have been refused to a man whom they looked upon as the hero of Christendom. He received compliments from all quarters upon his success. The king of Spain, who, as Malta secured his kingdoms of Sicily and Naples, was particularly concerned in its preservation, sent him the commander Maldonat,

to present him in full council with a sword and dagger, the hilt of which was of massy gold, set with diamonds: and in a kind of harangue which he made on this occasion, he said, that the king his master, considering him as one of the greatest captains of the age, desired him to employ those arms for the defence of Christendom.

NOTWITHSTANDING the grand master received at the same time compliments of the like nature from most of the princes of Europe, yet these honourable deputations could not secure the fears he justly entertained of what might afterwards happen. The siege indeed was raised, and the enemy was retired, but then they were making new preparations in the port of Constantinople. All the news that came from the east brought repeated assurances that the grand signior, being enraged at the ill success of his arms under Mústapha's conduct, had declared that he himself would go in person the next spring, at the head of a formidable army, in order to fall upon Malta. And in what a condition had his troops, though they had not taken the places they had besieged, left the whole island? The country was destitute of inhabitants, the villages and hamlets were most of them burnt; the great town, where the convent resided, and the forts of St. Elmo and St. Michael were left without walls; their fortifications ruined; the artillery either dismounted or burst; the houses demolished, the cisterns without water, the magazines empty, no provisions for their support, nor money to buy any; few soldiers, and still fewer knights left in the forts. Malta, in this deplorable condition, appeared to him as much in danger as it had been during the siege.

THESE dismal reflections would not suffer him to take any rest; when communicating his sentiments to some old commanders, who sympathised with him in his uneasiness, they thought it adviseable for them to abandon an island which they could never be able to defend, and transport the convent to Sicily. But la Vallette, excited by the ~~glory~~ glory he had acquired in Malta, resolv-

resolved to bury himself under its ruins rather than leave it ; when, at last, the extremity to which he was reduced put him upon expedients which nothing but despair could justify, and which a great many generals would have scrupled to make use of.

THE grand signior could not come to Malta, without a strong fleet suitable to his dignity, and sufficient to transport the troops he intended to employ in that expedition. They were continually at work for that purpose in the arsenal of Constantinople, and a good number of gallies and galliots were already on the stocks. The grand master, knowing this armament was designed against him, found means to get the arsenal set on fire ; the force of the powder blew up the magazines ; most of the gallies, which were not yet finished, were consumed ; and a great number of workmen perished in the flames. The author of this enterprise was not known for a long time ; however, it answered his end, and the war of Malta was put off to another time. Solyman, not finding himself in a condition to fit out a fleet suitable to the enterprise, and superior to that of the Christians, turned his arms against Hungary, and ended his days at the siege of Sigeth. Selinus the second, his son, afterwards declared war against the Venetians ; and a certain historian says, it was only by way of reprisals for the burning of the arsenal of Constantinople, that he got the arsenal of Venice set on fire a little before his invasion of Cyprus.

THE grand master, seeing that he had nothing to fear from Solyman, at least for the ensuing campaign, resolved to employ the time allowed him, in repairing the several fortifications the Turks had ruined ; and, for the better security of both the ports, proposed the building a new fortress in the Peninsula which separates them from one another. We have just now observed, that of all the several places which had been fortified before the siege, there was none of them better situated than fort St. Elmo, especially if it had been built more regularly. It was in a manner the key of  
both

both ports. The grand master, without neglecting to take care of the other ports, formed a design of enlarging this, and of adding new works to it, and resolved likewise to build a town upon the same neck of land, to strengthen it with all the fortifications that art could possibly invent, and to make it the residence of the knights. His opinion was, that they would be much safer there than in the great town, which was commanded on all sides by the rocks and hills with which it was surrounded.

FOR the execution of this project, great supplies were necessary, which could only be expected from the principal sovereigns of Christendom. The grand master sent ambassadors to the pope, to the kings of France, Spain, and Portugal, and to several Italian potentates, to represent to them, that the late saving of Malta, by the gallant defence that was made, would be of little use, if care was not taken for its future security by immediately repairing the fortifications of those places which had been ruined by the artillery of the Turks. These ministers had likewise orders to acquaint them with la Valette's design of building a new city; to shew them the plan he had drawn of it; and to desire from them, at the same time, the supplies necessary for setting about such a considerable work. All these princes gave fresh applause to the grand master's zeal; and in order to assist him in the undertaking, the pope promised him 15,000 crowns; the king of France 140,000 livres, which were to be raised out of the tithes of his kingdom; Philip II. 90,000 livres; and the king of Portugal 30,000 crusadoes: besides which, most of the commanders of the order made very generous contributions out of their own private fortunes, and sold even their richest furniture and effects; the money arising from which they remitted to Malta.

THE grand master, encouraged by these supplies, sent for engineers and workmen from several parts of Italy. When the lines for the new city and fortifications were marked out, la Valette went in his robes, attended

attended by the council, and all the knights, in great ceremony, to mount Sceberras, where he laid the first stone of the new city, upon which the order of council was engraved in Latin, almost in these words :  
“ The most illustrious and most reverend lord, brother John de la Valette, grand master of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, both hospitaller and military, considering all the perils to which his knights and people of Malta were exposed at the last siege by the infidels ; and having, with the approbation of the council of the order, and for the better opposing any new enterprises from those barbarians, resolved to build a town upon mount Sceberras ; the said grand master has this day, being Thursday the twenty-eighth of the month of March, of the present year 1566, (after having called upon the holy name of God, and besought the intercession of the holy virgin his mother, and of St. John Baptist, titular patron of the order, to obtain the blessing of heaven upon this important work) laid the first stone of it, with his arms, which are a lion d or in a field gules engraved upon it ; and the new town, by his order, has been named the city of la Valette.”

To perpetuate to the most distant posterity the memory of so remarkable an event, they threw on the foundation a great quantity of gold and silver medals, on which the new city was represented, with this inscription, MELITA RENASCENS, Malta springing up again, and in the exerge, they put the day and year of its foundation.

As soon as the ceremony was over, the work began again, and was carried on with the utmost application ; every one in his way, and without any distinction of the richest citizen from the poorest inhabitant, employed himself with that pleasure and eagerness, with which a work is followed when the common safety depends wholly upon it. The commander de la Fontaine, a person much esteemed for his skill in fortification, had the principal direction, and a kind of superintendency over all the works. Every knight contributed to it  
accord-

according as he was qualified. Some went with the galleys of the order, to fetch materials from different ports of Sicily and Italy ; others went no farther than Messina and Syracuse, whilst others again passed as far as Lyons to have the artillery new cast. Several worked at the head of a great number of pioneers in filling up the trenches, or clearing the breaches of the rubbish of the wall which the cannon had beat down ; and others took care to get stones carried for repairing the old fortifications, or building new ones.

IN this military republic, every one was in action, every one at work ; the grand master in particular, for near two years together, never left the workmen he employed in the new city : he spent whole days among them, and eat his meals in the midst of the carpenters and masons, as if he had been one of their number ; and so intent was he upon forwarding the work, that that he frequently gave his audiences and orders there.

IN this multitude and variety of business, which he had upon his hands, nothing gave him greater uneasiness than the want of money for paying the workmen ; the receivers of the order, in the provinces beyond sea, not being always so regular as they should be in remitting it. The grand master, to supply this defect, coined some brass money, which he made of different value, according to the size of the pieces. On one side there were two hands joined together, and on the other the arms of la Valette, quartered with those of the order, and for the legend these latin words, NON ÆS, SED FIDES : “ Do not regard so much “ the metal, as the inviolable promise given you to “ take it again.” And in fact, as soon as ever they had money, they did not fail to call in these pieces ; and by this exactness, their credit was so well established among the people, that the work was not once discontinued, or even slackned.

IN the midst of these cares, so worthy of a prince and an illustrious warrior, there arose some troubles which disturbed the tranquillity of the government : for some young Spanish knights, fancying any liberties might be  
allowed

allowed in the midst of the rejoicings, which the defeat of the Turks occasioned, consumed their time in feasting and drinking, which they often intermixed with satirical songs; and wherein, under a pretence of being witty, and of throwing out their jests, they attacked the reputation of the bravest knights, and the honour of the principal ladies of Malta. These songs were soon made public, and complaint was made about them to the grand master, who, as he was a strict observer of exact discipline, conceived a very just indignation at the hearing of these irregularities, and accordingly directed the council, and principal officers of the order, to examine into them. The authors of these defamatory libels were discovered, and a prosecution was carried on against them. Whilst they were going on with it in full council, these young libertines, forgetting the respect they owed to the grand master, who presided there in person, broke into the chamber, snatched the pen out of the vice-chancellor's hand, with which he was writing the sentence pronounced against the criminals, and threw his inkhorn out of the window. This being done, the mutineers flung out of the room, and, by the help of their secret accomplices and friends, got to the sea side, where they went on board some light feluccas, and made their escape to Sicily. The grand master, incensed at such an unprecedented insurrection, degraded them from the order, and condemned them in case of their being taken, to perpetual imprisonment. He dispatched, at the same time, the chevalier Caprona to the viceroy of Sicily to demand them as rebels and deserters. But whatever real or pretended orders the viceroy might have issued out, they either could not or would not find them. These knights however did not stay any time in Sicily; for, as they knew the grand master's firm and inflexible temper, they thought it best to retire into their respective countries. They flattered themselves, that as la Valette was very old, he might have a successor who should be less severe, and perhaps have less credit; that time would at least be of advantage

tage to them, as it would wear off the first impressions, and thereby lessen the greatness of their offence.

AN affair of so vexatious a nature, and which, at the same time, was so dangerous a precedent, was scarce over, when another happened that gave the grand master fresh uneasiness. One Bonaccursi, a Florentine, who was settled at Malta, had there married a young lady of exquisite beauty, and the grand master's god-daughter. She was originally of the isle of Rhodes, descended of those noble Rhodians who came away with l'Isle-Adam, and followed the fortune of the order.

THE Florentine, transported with rage and jealousy, stabbed his wife ; and notwithstanding all the endeavours the grand master used to have him seized, his countrymen, whether knights or others, found means, in order to save him from the punishment of the law, to ship him off to Italy ; a country, where murders, occasioned by jealousy, are oftner connived at than punished. The grand master, in the midst of all the glory with which he was surrounded, was full of the highest resentments at the insults with which private men dared to wound his sovereign authority. As he was inviolably attached to the observance of the laws, was a true judge of merit, and a severe avenger of guilt, he neither suffered virtue to pass without a recompence, nor faults without chastisement. These great qualities made him equally dreaded and respected ; and it was never known, during his administration, that either credit or favour had any weight with him ; or that he was ever liberal or munificent but to those who justly merited it.

THIS laudable steadiness however embroiled him with the pope, and occasioned a new subject of discontent, which did not a little contribute to the shortning of so illustrious a life. Some cardinals, thirsting after the great estates which the order possessed in the several states of Christendom, and particularly in Rome and Italy, had insinuated to several popes, that the disposal of the first dignities of this military order belong-

ed.

ed to them, as the first superiors of the whole body. Upon this pretence, the popes had frequently conferred the grand priory of Rome upon cardinals their nephews, and exerted the plenitude of the power of the keys, in granting dispensations to qualify them to possess that military dignity. Upon this principle, the priory of Rome had passed successively through the hands of several persons of the sacred college.

LA VALETTE could not bear to see this misapplication of the estates of the order, without using his utmost endeavours to redress it. He had no views, no passion, but what terminated in the glory and interest of his order, which indeed may be said to be those of Christendom; so that he could not forbear writing about it to his holiness in very pressing terms. The pope, since the raising of the siege of Malta, had sent him several briefs, which were full of pompous declarations of his esteem, and the deep sense he had of his services. The grand master answered him, that all the recompence he desired was, that he would leave to his order the disposal of the grand priory of Rome. Pius V. finding his request as disinterested with respect to himself, as it was just with regard to his knights, assured him, by a particular brief, that he, whenever it should fall vacant, would not disturb the order in the enjoyment of its rights. Nevertheless, cardinal Bernardini Salviati, who was then grand prior of Rome, dying, Pius V. made no scruple to confer that rich dignity upon cardinal Alexandrino his nephew, without so much as subjecting him, as the other cardinal grand priors had been obliged, to pay the usual responses and quit-rents into the common treasury of the order.

THE grand master was sensibly concerned at this breach of promise, especially in a pope who was still holier, by the purity of his morals, and his eminent piety, than by his dignity, though it be the first of the Christian world. He immediately wrote to him on that subject in very warm terms; and the chevalier de Cambian, his ambassador, delivered his letter, in which he represented to him, that if the cardinals of every na-

tion should seize on the most considerable estates of the order, they would be left without any fund to enable them, pursuant to the intentions of their founders, to defend the Christian ships and coasts, and to carry on the war against the infidels. The holy father was touched with the force of these reasons, and seemed disposed to restore the priory to the order: but as the terms of the grand master's letter were not guarded enough, and that the ambassador had, of his own head, been so imprudent as to disperse copies of it, the pope, offended at this breach of respect, ordered Cambian not to come into his presence. This gave the grand master fresh uneasiness, which, added to the vexation the young knights had given him, threw him into a deep melancholy.

LA VALETTE, in order to divert it, got on horseback a few days afterwards, and, being attended with his hunting equipage, went to a plain near the lee-shore of St. Paul, to amuse himself with hawking. But that day, which was July the 19th, proving excessive hot, he was struck with a coup de soleil, which forced him to leave his sport, and occasioned a violent fever. A few days after, his illness not allowing him to apply himself so much as was necessary to the affairs of government, he empowered his lords of council to take them into their hands. His distemper lasted near three weeks longer, and grew daily more and more dangerous; when, at length, finding his strength decay, and his end drawing near, he prepared himself for it like a good Christian, and a true religious. He received all the sacraments with great fervor and piety; and as he had renounced all property, by the vow he made of poverty at his admission into the order, that he might die in the same sentiments, he would not offer to make over any of his effects without the permission of the council, and therefore desired their leave to dispose of fifty slaves that belonged to him, and likewise the sum of 12,000 livres. Part of this money he employed in endowing a chappel which he had built in the new city, where he  
desired

desired to be buried, and the rest he gave away in legacies to his servants.

HE afterwards sent for the lords of the council, and the principal commanders and knights, who were then at Malta, and exhorted them, in the most moving language, to maintain peace and unity among themselves, and to be exact in discharging their vow of obedience to the grand master, who should be chosen to succeed him. We are told that he recommended to their choice brother Anthony de Toledo, grand prior of Castile, as a man who was most capable of supporting the dignity of the order. He declared that he forgave the knights who had offended him, and desired the lords of the council to re-admit the young knights, whom he had degraded of the habit, in case they thought it could be done without prejudice to their rules and institutions. Then addressing himself particularly to his nephews, he told them, that the practice of all the virtues of their condition would be the only path that would lead them to those dignities and that respect which ambitious men endeavour so eagerly to gain by cabals and the interest of the great. He then took leave of them all, and would not hear of any thing but what related to his salvation. A little after he felt the approaches of death. This warrior, who, during his whole life-time, and in the midst of the greatest dangers, had faced death with so much intrepidity, was at that instant seized with a religious terror: they heard him call several times on his good angel for his assistance; but these clouds were soon blown over, and he surmounted the horrors of this last combat with an entire confidence of GOD's mercy: his mind was calmed, and the serenity of it appeared in his countenance, when, at last, calling devoutly on the holy name of JESUS and MARY, he ended an illustrious life by a peaceable and Christian death, upon the 21st of August 1568. His body was laid in the church of St. Laurence, in the chapel of St. Mary de Philermo, till such time as it could be removed into that of St.

Mary of Victory, which he had ordered to be built in the new city of la Valette, where he had desired to be buried; and it was accordingly carried thither after the election of his successor.

THE convent met the next day to proceed to the election. Had the intentions of the last grand master been followed, don Antonio de Toledo, of the same family with the famous duke of Alva, would have been chosen his successor. He was a knight of singular valour, an excellent general; was generous, liberal, and, what was still more considerable, had a soul informed with the highest sentiments of piety and religion, and was particularly strict in the observance of the rules and statutes of the order; but, with all these shining qualities, a little too fond of his high birth. This turn of mind, which it is even dangerous to discover in a republic composed of nobility and gentry; a certain air of haughtiness which he affected; the very recommendation of la Valette, which, because of the strictness of his administration, was disagreeable to several knights; all these circumstances gave them reason to apprehend that Toledo would resemble him as much in his steadiness as he did in his valour, which, for that reason, turned all the votes of the assembly another way. There were several candidates, all of them great crosses, of the first and most ancient knights of the order.

ST. CLEMENT aspired to this dignity: he was a Spanish knight, pillar of the language of Arragon; his age, his long residence in the convent, his modesty, and his having past through most of the dignities of the order, might have naturally led him to the first; but his excessive avarice, and his sordid niggardliness in house-keeping, which the knights of his inn had been sensible of to their cost, made him so odious and insupportable, that they would not so much as hear of his pretensions.

THERE were at that time in Malta two great crosses, the one a Frenchman, called la Motte, the other a Spaniard, whose name was Maldonat, both of them intimate

intimate friends : they had often been out a cruising together ; were both men of courage, and from a similitude of tempers and inclinations, had made as it were a kind of partnership of the glory and profit which accrued to them from their captures. These two commanders, even in la Valette's life time, seeing him advanced in years, and worn out with the fatigues of war, formed a project for making the grand mastership fall, after his death, to some great cross, who should be chiefly obliged to them for it. With this view they, from that time, made it their business to gain friends and creatures, and to make themselves the heads of a party who should have a great sway in the election. La Motte, who was polite, insinuating, and good-natured, found no difficulty in gaining over a great many friends. Maldonat was not possessed of these qualities, and was naturally proud and haughty : but then he supplied these defects by the frankness of his temper, the sums he generously spent, his liberality, and the good offices which he did those knights who had served under him, and in the galleys which he commanded. The day of the election being fixed, they went the evening before to the commander de Rivalle's : this gentleman was of the illustrious house of Ursini, was at that time great admiral of the order, at the head of the language of Italy, and had moreover a great number of creatures and partisans. Rivalle, imagining he should infallibly be elected, received them in his bed, and, upon their offering him their own votes, and those of their friends, he answered them only with a pretended moderation, and with an air that was cold enough. Upon which the two commanders went out of his apartment, disgusted at the mysterious air he affected, and affronted at his having received them in bed. Maldonat, who was naturally hot and proud, could not forbear saying, that he should be very much surprised, if a man who had kept his bed so late on the eve of the election, should be chose grand master the next day.

THE two commanders gave their friends an account of the haughty reception they had met with from the admiral;

admiral ; upon which they agreed to give their votes for some other person. Maldonat endeavoured at this meeting to gain over the votes of the company for himself ; but the knights, knowing his imperious temper, did not think him a fit man to preside over persons of quality, who had been brought up in a spirit of liberty. They gave him however some hopes, but that only in general terms, and he soon perceived that his most intimate friends would fail him on this occasion : la Motte likewise advised him to desist from an attempt that could not possibly succeed, whereupon they agreed together to declare in favour of the chevalier de Monte, grand prior of Capua, who was one of the candidates for the election, and had a considerable party in his interest. They, in their resentment against Rivalle, had pitched upon Monte, in hopes, that, as they were all of the language of Italy, they might for that reason draw off a good number of the votes of that language from Rivalle. Accordingly the two friends went to his house. This gentleman had passed through all the employments and dignities of the order ; had been general of the galleys, admiral, governor of the castle of St. Angelo, and of the peninsula de la Sangle, where he had acquired no small share of glory in the last siege. La Motte and Maldonat met with him in his hall, surrounded with a great number of knights. They, in like manner, as they had done to Rivalle, offered him their own votes, and those of their friends. Monte, knowing the credit and interest they would have in the election, was more politic on this occasion than Rivalle had been : he gave them a most obliging reception, and assured them of his highest acknowledgements.

THE whole convent met the next day in the church of the priory of St. John, when all the languages went into their respective chapels, in order to proceed to the choice of two electors for each language. La Motte was one of the number, and was chosen knight of the election. He had the dexterity to get the greatest part of the co-electors to be chosen from among such of his friends

friends as he could most rely on. The president gave each of them a ballot, or voting-ball: but as there were sixteen electors, la Motte, as knight of the election, had two ballots, to prevent an equality of votes. After the oaths and ceremonies usually performed in these cases, the electors, by a plurality of voices, chose brother PETER DE MONTE for grand master. His name was Guidalotti; but as he was great nephew by the mother's side to pope Julius III, of the family of Monte, he, for that reason had assumed that name, which his valour, and the brave defence he had made at the siege of Malta against the continual assaults, which the Turks had made both by sea and land upon the peninsula de la Sangle, had sufficiently illustrated. The first care of the new grand master was to pay the funeral honours to his predecessor: his body had been deposited, as was before observed, in the church of our lady of Philermo by the grand master's order; it was put on board the admiral galley, which was without any equipage or mast, and was towed by two other galleys, both of them armed, hung with black cloth, and carrying several ensigns and banners, which he had taken from the Turks and other infidels, all of them trailing in the water. These were followed by two other galleys, which had belonged to the late grand master, covered with black cloth, and other funeral ornaments, having the grand master elect, the lords of the council, the commanders, and principal knights on board. This funeral procession went out of the great port in this solemn and mournful manner, and entered into that of Muset. The household of the deceased, his officers and servants, all in deep mourning, went first on shore, most of whom had torches in their hands, and others carried the standards which had been taken from the Turks. The clergy marched after the prince's household, carrying his corps, and chanting the service of the church. After these came the grand master, and all the lords of the council, and were followed

PETER DE  
MONTE.  
23 Aug.  
1658.

lowed by the body of the knights. The corps of the deceased was carried into the chapel of our lady of victory, which la Valette had built at his own expence, in the new city, which he had chose for the place of his burial, where they deposited his remains, and divine service was afterwards performed with all the ceremonies of the church, and all the honours due to the memory of so great a man.

*The end of the Thirteenth Book.*

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## BOOK the Fourteenth.

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### ADVERTISEMENT.

**A**MONG the several authors who have writ the general history of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, whether in Italian, Latin, French or Spanish, not one of them has carried his account of it lower than the last siege of Malta : 1565. all these writers leave off, as it were by concert, at that famous epocha, fancying, probably, that they could not better end their works, than with the conclusion of that bloody war ; perhaps too, as the forces of both parties, being equally exhausted, might have afterwards produced fewer of those great events that merit a place in history.

WHATEVER might have been their different motives, I have followed the same method in the plan and distribution of my work. The thirteenth book ends at the raising of the siege of Malta, and the defeat of Mustapha, general to Solyman II. I have only added what passed in the last years of la Valette's government till the death of that great man, the glory and ornament of his age, as well as of his order. If the history of a king ends generally with his life, it is not the same in that of a republic, which ought to be continued as long as the same form of government exists. So that the authors who, after me, shall transmit to posterity the series of events that have happened in this order, may begin where I leave off. However, till such time

## ADVERTISEMENT.

time as some new writer shall think fit to continue it, or I myself may have health enough to collect memoirs, and carry on my history to our own times, I thought myself obliged, for the satisfaction of the public, to add, after the thirteen former books, a fourteenth in the form of annals, and by way of supplement, containing a summary account of the principal events that have happened in the order, from the election of the prior de Monte, the immediate successor of la Valette, to that of don Manuel de Vilhena, the present auspicious governor of this illustrious order.

ANNALS

# A N N A L S OF THE O R D E R O F

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Drawn up in a succinct manner.

**T**HE 23d of August, A. D. 1568, brother PETER DE MONTE, or DU MONT, grand prior of Capua, was elected grand master. PETER DE MONTE. His name was Guidalotti; but being great nephew by the mother's side to pope Julius III. of the house of Monte, he, for that reason, took the name and arms of that family.

DAME Hieronyma d'Olibo, grand prioress 1569. of the royal house of Sixene, of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, situated, as has been already observed, in the kingdom of Arragon, returned to her obedience, with the consent of her whole community, and put herself under the government and particular authority of the grand master, from which that house had withdrawn itself for near an hundred years, on pretence that it depended only on the holy see.

SELIMUS II. emperor of the Turks, undertakes the conquest of the isle of Cyprus, and on that account declares war against the Venetians. The progress of this war; and the taking of Nicosia and Famagusta by the infidels, gives occasion to a league

between the pope, the king of Spain, and the Venetians.

THE chevaliers de St. Aubin, Roquelaure, and Ferrand de Coiro, famous cruizers, take considerable prizes in the Egyptian sea, and in 1570. the very mouth of the Nile. But these advantages, which accrued only to the profit of some private men, do not compensate the order for the great loss it sustains, by the defeat of St. Clement. Lucchiali, a famous corsair, at the head of a strong squadron, surprises that of Malta, under the command of this knight, takes three galleys from him, and forces the admiral to run a-ground off of the tower of Monchiaro, in the isle of Sicily. This impropitious event is followed with the fatal death of St. Clement.

THE battle of Lepanto between the Christians and infidels. The Turks lost 30,000 men in it : 1571. their general was killed, two of his sons were taken prisoners, together with 5000 officers or soldiers : 20,000 Christian slaves recover their liberty : they took 140 galleys from the infidels, not to mention such as were either burnt or sunk. The Christians on their side lost 7600 men, and fourteen captains of the galleys. Though the order had sent no more than three galleys, nevertheless the knights bravely signalized themselves in this engagement.

IN the same year the grand master having, with great expence, finished the building of the new city, called the city of la Valette, the foundation of which had been laid by the grand master of that name, he transports the residence of the convent thither.

THE distribution of the principal dignities of the order. Brother Francis Burges is made bailiff of Majorca : brother Francis d'Arquembourg Tourville quits the dignity of hospitaller for the grand priory of Champagne : brother Peter Pelloquin succeeds him in the post of hospitaller, after having quitted the dignity of bailiff of the Morea, which, upon his abdication, is given to brother William de Malin-le-Lux : this last resigns the post of great treasurer, which is given to brother Christopher de Montgaudri. After all these several removals, the

the grand master and the council, upon the voluntary resignation of the commander de d'Arquembourg Tourville, at the request of Charles the ninth, bestows the grand priory of Champagne upon the chevalier de Sevre.

THE death of the grand master de Monte, aged 76. Brother JOHN L'EVEQUE DE LA CASSIERE, of the language of Auvergne, and marshal of the order, is elected grand master; and the next day after his election, he is in full council acknowledged sovereign prince of the islands of Malta and Goza.

JOHN L'  
EVEQUE  
DE LA  
CASSIERE

UNDER his administration a new promotion is made in the dignities of the order. 1572. 27. Jan. The commander brother Mark de la Goutte, of the language of Auvergne, is made grand marshal of the order, which post was vacant by the election of la Cassiere to the grand mastership. The commander brother Hubert Solar is made lieutenant to the great admiral, and afterwards prior of Lombardy. Brother Justinian, general of the gallies, having completed his two years of service, is succeeded by brother Philip Flach, grand bailiff of Germany. Brother Francis Pouget is made captain of the admiral galley; and brother Pompey Soard, commander of the galley of St. Peter. Brother Francis Mego of the isle of Rhodes, after having executed the office of auditor, under the grand masters d'Omedes, la Valette, Monte, and la Cassiere, is made vice-chancellor of the order, upon the promotion of Rojas Chapelain to the bishopric of Malta. The commander Francis de Moretton Chabrilan, and Dr. Melchior Cagliares, are appointed syndics, to examine the conduct of the judges in civil and criminal cases.

BROTHER Jerom de Guette, great conservator, is sent ambassador to Rome, to take the oath of obedience to Gregory XIII. successor to Pius V. 1573.

GREAT preparations are made at Malta, to oppose the grand seignior Selimus II. who had threatened to fall upon the island with all his forces: 1574.

but he employs them another way, and takes the fort of Goletta, and the city of Tunis.

THIS year the inquisition is said to have been set up in the isle of Malta.

THE death of Selimus II: who succeeded is 1575. by Amurath III. his eldest son.

A great dispute between the order and the republic of Venice about a ship richly laden with merchandize belonging to some Jews, which the knights seize upon as their prize.

ANOTHER dispute between several commanders of the language of Provence, about the grand priory of Toulouse. Romegas is made general of the gallies.

ON occasion of the reports of an invasion which the Turks intended speedily against Malta, the grand 1576. master and council are reproached for making no provision against it (under pretence that the king of Spain was as much concerned as themselves, in the preservation of the island) and of being guilty of a neglect which might prove very prejudicial to the order.

BROTHER John George de Schonborn is by the council appointed to redress the abuses which had crept into the commandries of Germany by the mal-administration of the particular receivers.

THE chevalier de Mendosa, as yet only a probationer, arrives at Malta with a brief from the pope, who orders, that as soon as he shall have made his vows, he shall take the great cross, with the title of turcopilier, annexed to the language of England. This causes a general discontent in the convent, who send ambassadors to the pope to engage him to revoke the brief, granted to a young man who had no experience, and who yet was going to be one of the eight pillars, or chiefs of the whole order.

THE affair of the Jews of Venice comes again upon the carpet. The senate, by way of reprisals, sequester all the estates which the order had within the territories of the republic. The grand master, on this occasion, sends an ambassador to Rome, to represent to the pope, that

that as those Jews were not subjects of the republic, it was a constant practice, and which was moreover allowed by all laws whatever, to seize upon an enemy's robe, as counterband goods, though it be found on board a friend's ship. This affair was concluded to the satisfaction of the senate; the knights were obliged to restore the booty which they had taken from the Levantine Jews, and the senate took off the sequestration.

THE chevalier Correa, a Portuguese, is assassinated by six other knights, his countrymen, who, putting on false beards, got by that means into his apartment. They are arrested, and prosecuted, and the secular judge condemns them to be sewed up in a sack, and thrown into the sea. 1577.

THE corsairs of Algiers take the galley of St. Paul, which belonged to the order.

THERE was in the house of Austria, of the German branch, a young prince, Archduke Wenceslaus by name, who took the cross and habit as knight of Malta. The pope, at the king of Spain's request, gave him a brief, in the form of *gratie expectative*, a kind of bull, dated March the 10th, 1577, to qualify him to enjoy the dignity of grand cross, the priories of Castile and Leon, and the bailliage of Lora, after the death of the incumbents; which the grand master and council, in consideration of the protection the order received from the king of Spain, were obliged to pass, after the German prince had made his vows.

FRANCE, at the same time, made another invasion, in prejudice of the rights of seniority, and the privileges of the order. The council of Henry III. having issued out an order, authorizing the king to name some of his subjects to the grand priory of Auvergne, that prince wrote to the grand master to procure the three grand priories of France, St. Giles and Champagne, for Francis de Lorraine the queen's brother.

THE order had another storm breaking out upon it from Germany, where it was debated in a diet, whether it would be proper to oblige the knights of Malta, of

the German language, to incorporate themselves with the Teutonic knights, and unite their commandries to that order, to render it thereby more powerful, and better able to make war upon the infidels in Hungary. But this went no farther, the proposal being baffled by the skill and dexterity of the commander Scaglia, a Piedmontese, and at that time ambassador from the order to the diet.

THE grand duke of Tuscany sends the chevalier Bongianni Giantigliazzi, with the grand master's leave, as his ambassador to Constantinople. The Turkish sultan, in a private conversation which he had with him, shewing him a plan of the city of la Valette, asked the ambassador if it was drawn exactly, and whether the place was as well fortified as it appeared to be? "Sir, (replied the knight) he who drew this plan forgot its chief fortification, which consists in the courage and valour of above a thousand knights, who are ever ready to fight to the last drop of their blood in defence of the place."

TROUBLES in the order, raised by eight Castilian knights, who complained against the grand master and the council, as having greatly wronged them and their whole language, in consenting to the disposition which the pope and the king of Spain had made of the priories of Castile and Leon, and the bailliage of Lora, in favour of the archduke Wenceslaus. The malecontents were instigated underhand by several great crosses, who fomented the sedition. The grand master has recourse to the pope, who cites the mutineers to appear before him; they own their fault, and the grand master, under pretence that as they had not any commandries, nor any patrimony or money of their own, it would be impossible for them to undertake such a journey, prevails with the pope to excuse them from coming to Rome; they were however obliged to appear before him, in full council, with each of them a wax taper in his hand, in order to make him and the council satisfaction, and to ask his

his pardon : which was granted them, after their having been first severely reprimanded by the grand master.

THE death of the grand prior of Bohemia. The emperors had taken upon them to nominate to it, and the order for a long time had neither enjoyed the personal estate of those who died, nor the mortuary, nor the profits arising from the vacancy of the priory. The grand master and council appoint the bailiff de Schomborn their embassador at the imperial court. This knight has a conference at Prague with brother Christopher de Verdenberg, who had very great interest with the emperor : and, to engage him to support the rights of the order, the bailiff delivers him an instrument and a bull from the grand master, by which he constituted him grand prior of Bohemia : which affair succeeds agreeable to the intentions and the desires of the grand master.

HENRY, king of Portugal, acquaints the grand master with the death of his nephew king Sebastian, who was killed the 22d of September 1578, at the battle of Alcaçer, where several commanders of the order of St. John likewise lost their lives, and notifies at the same time his own accession to the throne.

BROTHERS Gargallo bishop of Malta, and 1579. Cressin prior of the church, both of them men of restless and turbulent spirits, began to raise a storm, which broke out about this time, against the grand master their benefactor.

THE death of the archduke Wenceslaus, grand prior of Castile and Leon, which is followed by that of Don John of Austria, natural son to Charles V.

BROTHER Justiniani, grand prior of Messina, is named embassador to the courts of Castile and Portugal, to make the compliments of condolance upon the death of those several princes, and particularly to make sure of succours from thence, that the order might be the better enabled to oppose the Turks, who again threatened to invade Malta.

BISHOP Gargalla, renewing his incroachments on the authority of the grand master and 1579. council, pretends to make a judicial visitation of the hospital of the Notable-city, in which he is opposed by the administrators, as being subject to no authority but that of the grand master and council. The bishop excommunicates them: the clergy side with him, and levy contributions to support the expences of this dispute. The order appoints brother Damientaliata, a Maltese divine, of the order of St. Dominic, to defend their privileges. The magistrates of the cities present a petition to the grand master, complaining that the friends and creatures of the bishop sallied out of his palace in arms, and abused the citizens who persisted in the obedience which they owed their sovereign. The grand master, to put a stop to this disorder, settles a guard of fifty men in the town, now called the Victorious City.

THE grand master sends brother Hugh de Loubens de Verdalle as his ambassador to the pope, to acquaint him with these disturbances, and gives him instructions to apply to his holiness for a confirmation of the privileges which his predecessors had granted to the order; and likewise to grant leave for the prior of the church to confer, in case of the bishop's refusal, the lesser orders, not excepting those of deacons, upon young candidates for the ecclesiastical profession. The pope appoints the archbishop of Palermo to take cognizance of these disputes; but that prelate, upon his arrival at Malta, finds the animosities carried to such a height, that he remits the cognizance of the affair to the holy see, and the bishop goes to Rome to defend his conduct.

A GREAT conspiracy against the life of the grand master, whom three officers of the inquisition 1580. had resolved to poison: they are arrested, and accuse several knights, some of whom were great crosses, and particularly one Petrucci, inquisitor of Malta, of being their accomplices. Some knights of the languages of Italy, Arragon, and Castile,

stile, force their way tumultuously into the council, insult the grand master, and, without any respect to his dignity, challenge him to declare what proof he had of their having conspired against his life. And altho' the vice-chancellor told them, that they had not been so much as once mentioned in the council, they yet were not satisfied, but insisted that the order should send three embassadors to the pope, who were brother Anthony de Villars, grand prior of Auvergne, brother Francis Guiral, bailiff of Negrepont, and brother Anthony de Bologna, bailiff of St. Stephens. But Bologna and Guiral, not caring to intermeddle in so troublesome an affair, excused themselves from the journey, on pretence of their ill state of health; which a little damped the heat and animosity of the most violent.

THE bailiff of Brandenburg, and several knights of the bailliage of Sonneberg, are cited before the council of the order, for having, in opposition to their profession, embraced the Lutheran religion.

THE emperor pretends he has a right to nominate to the grand priory, and the commandries of the kingdom of Bohemia.

THE council, supported by the greatest part of the convent, rebel against la Cassiere. This sedition was raised on three several accounts. The 1581: first was because of the grand master's having forbid the knights of different languages to favour particularly the nations and princes whose subjects they were born: his reason for it was, because the Spaniards, who, since the time of Charles V. had been bred up under the formidable power of the house of Austria, were for bringing the whole order to crouch to it. The second cause was, the grand master's having issued out a public proclamation to clear the town and city of la Valette of all loose and disorderly women, and his having forced them either to quit the island, or retire into the villages and hamlets which lay remote from the residence of the convent. The third occasion was owing to the ambition of some great crosses who aspired to the grand mastership; and who, seeing the  
grand

grand master, though he was very old, nevertheless enjoyed his health very well, were afraid they should not outlive him, and therefore resolved either to depose him, or force him to abdicate, and by that means make a vacancy in his dignity.

THE languages of Castile and Portugal, some add those of Arragon and Germany, several knights of the three languages of France, with Mathurin del Escar, called Romegas, at their head, meet in a tumultuous manner, and complain, that the grand master, by the several orders he issued out, plainly manifested that his understanding was in a manner gone: that he was more intent upon the conduct of the Maltese women, than upon the enterprizes of the Turks and the Corsairs of Barbary; that he took no care of filling the magazines of Malta; that he was always asleep at council, and did nothing when he was awake but plague his knights: and thereupon they send deputies to him to propose to him his naming of a lieutenant, since he himself was incapable of the administration. Upon his refusal, a full council meets at brother Cressin's, who was prior of the church, and the main spring of this sedition, when they appoint Romegas, prior of Toulouse and Ireland, to be lieutenant of the mastership; the Spanish knights having preferred him before others of their own nation, in hopes of engaging the languages of France on their side. Such was the result of this seditious assembly, whose aim was to suspend from his lawful authority, a grand master, who was valuable for his wisdom, his piety and valour, only to put in his stead a knight, given up a prey to ambition, brave indeed and successful in cruising, but of a savage nature, cruel to his enemies; and whose only merit was his being a formidable corsair.

BESIDES Romegas, who was in reality, though secretly, at the head of the conspiracy, and who, in outward appearance, seemed only to be drawn in to acquiesce to the sentiments of the greatest part of the knights, there were four others who acted openly against the grand master. The first was Cressin, whom the

the grand master had made prior of the church. This wretch seemed to be the most bitter enemy his benefactor had. The second was the bailiff Rivalle, who, having missed of the grand mastership, when Monte carried it from him, fancied he should get it, in case la Cassiere could be deposed. The third was Ducro, a great cross; and the fourth, who was Romegas's creature and confident, was a Frenchman, the commander de Maillo-Sacquenville by name.

THESE four ringleaders of the sedition do not stop here; but, to carry their rebellion and outrage still further, they, at the head of their accomplices, rush into the grand master's palace; arrest him by virtue of an order of council; put him in an open chair, and carry him under a guard of soldiers, like a criminal to the castle of St. Angelo, where they kept him prisoner. All the way as he went from the city of la Valette to the castle, he was exposed to the shouts and insolence of several young knights, and of those scandalous prostitutes, who insulted and abused him with abominable language, by way of reproach; but this conduct on the contrary, before equitable judges, was real encomiums that redounded to his glory.

THE rebels, in order to get their proceedings approved of by the pope, the supreme head of the order, sent him three ambassadors, the chief of whom was Sacquenville, the confident of Romegas, who got him named. The grand master, notwithstanding his close confinement, found means to send four other ambassadors to Rome; these were the chevaliers de Blot Viviers, Peter Roux de Beauvais, brother Don Francis de Guzman, and brother Angelo Pellegrini.

Two days after, Chabrilan, general of the gallies, returns back into the harbour of Malta, with the knights who had been out at sea with him. He was no sooner ashore but he desired to see the grand master, which the rebels durst not refuse him: whereupon he goes to the castle of St. Angelo, and offers the grand master to restore him to his authority, and carry him back to his palace at the head of 2000 men,  
made

made up either of the forces he had on board his galleys, or of the knights and the worthiest people of the island, who detested this insurrection. But the generous old man answered him, with great wisdom, that he expected to be restored by the authority of the pope, the first superior of the order; and that he had rather end his days in prison, than give occasion to his knights, whom he always considered as his children, to fight with one another upon his account.

THE ambassadors of the two parties arrive at Rome: those of the mutineers, in order to bring his holiness to consent to the deposing of the grand master, represent him as an old man that had lost his senses, and who was incapable of governing the order. The pope, to prevent his being imposed upon by this assertion, sends Gaspar Visconti, auditor of the Rota, as his nuncio, to Malta, to take cognizance of the affair on the place. This prelate, upon his arrival there, calls a general assembly of all the convent, and lays before them two briefs which he had brought with him; one for the grand master, and the other for Romegas; by which both of them were enjoined to come to Rome.

THE king of France, upon receiving advice of the shameful treatment which the grand master met with from his religious, sends him a knight to assure him that he will employ all his power to reduce the mutineers to their duty.

LA CASSIERE arrives at Rome, attended with 300 knights. He makes his entry into that capital of the Christian world as it were in triumph. The pope's court, the houses of the cardinals, several princes and ambassadors, go a considerable way to meet him. His holiness receives him with great marks of esteem, consoles and comforts him. Romegas solicits an audience; but the pope sends him word, that he will not so much as see him, till he has first abdicated his post of lieutenant of the mastership. Romegas is so prodigiously afflicted upon his receiving of this order, that he falls in a swoon, and is seized with a violent fever, which carries him off in a few days. His partisans are  
ordered

ordered to go and make their submissions to the grand master. The commander de Sacquenville, coming up to the grand master, and going no further than asking to kiss his hand, the cardinal de Montalto cried to him, "Down upon your knees, rebellious knight; had it not been for the goodness and clemency of your worthy grand master, your head had been chopped off some days ago in the piazza Navona." Every body at Malta make their submissions. The pope was for having the grand master return to Malta, there to enjoy the authority to which he was restored; but providence disposed otherways of him, and he died at Rome after three months stay in that city. His corps was carried back to Malta, and his heart deposited at Rome, in the church of St. Lewis. His holiness ordered this inscription to be put over it, which was made by the famous M. Anthony Muret.

"Fratri Joanni episcopo, magno militiæ Hierosolymitanæ magistro, viro fortissimo, religiosissimo, splendidissimo, cujus, ut igne aurum, sic calumniis spectata ac probata integritas, etiam enituit, sacra sodalitas militum Hierosolymitanorum patriæ principi optimo mærens posuit. Vixit annos 78, obiit Romæ 12 Kalend. Januarii 1582."

THE grand master happening to die at Rome, made all the order afraid lest the pope, as first superior, should take upon him to name his successor. This was the occasion of an embassy, and a famous deputation, sent by the convent of Malta to Gregory XIII. to intreat him not to infringe the order's right of election. The pope ordered a search to be made into the registers of his predecessors, particularly those of Boniface IX. Innocent VII. and Gregory XII. and, after coming to a resolution, dismissed the ambassadors, with an assurance that he would, in a little time, send them a brief to proceed to an election, without any further explanation of his intentions, of which he told them signior Visconti his nuncio was fully instructed.

In fact, upon the 12th of January 1582, the chapter being met, and the sixteen electors chose, his holi-

ness's nuncio presented them a brief, wherein he allowed them indeed to proceed to a kind of choice, but confined them to chuse one of the three persons whom the pope had proposed, viz. Verdalle, a knight of the language of Provence, and great commander ; Panisse,

HUGH DE LOU- grand prior of St. Giles ; and Cha-  
BENX DE VER- brillan, bailiff of Manosque. VER-  
DALLE, who had been a long time  
DALLE. ambassador at Rome, and was very  
acceptable to the pope and all his

court, found the same favourable dispositions towards him in the chapter ; accordingly he was chosen, and proclaimed grand master ; and the pope ratified his election, and sent a brief to incorporate and unite the dignity of turcopilier to the grand mastership, a dignity which had been anciently annexed to the language of England.

1583. A GENERAL chapter is held, which lays a general tax upon all the estates of the order.

THE Venetians seize two gallies of the order, by way of reprisals, for some merchandize that had been taken in Turkish vessels, and which was claimed by Venetian merchants.

NEW fortifications ordered in the isle of Goza.

THE language of Italy carries the point of precedence before that of Arragon.

1584. THE prosecution and trial of the chevali-  
er Avogadre, general of the gallies : he is  
Jan. 9th. deprived of his post, condemned to a year's imprisonment, and the revenues of his bailliage are confiscated for three years, and paid in to the treasury of the order.

THE grand duke's gallies cruize in company with those of the order.

BROTHER Claude of Lorrain, called the chevalier d'Aumale, arrives at Malta in a galley of his own.

JOHN Andrew Doria, generalissimo to the king of Spain, arrives at Malta, and has a conference with the grand master.

THE pope's brief, excluding the knights, and incapacitating them for being made either bishops of Malta, or priors of the church.

DEATH of pope Gregory XIII. The election of Sixtus Quintus.

A VENETIAN ship arrested by the gallies of the order, by way of reprisals.

THIS year is spent in debating the grand master's right of nominating the general of the gallies, and the knight who was to have the particular command of the admiral galley. 1585.

AN order forbidding any man's carrying pocket pistols and stilletos about him ; weapons fit only for banditti and assassins. 1586.

SACONNAI, grand marshal of the order, is punished for taking a knight's servant, who had been accused of theft, out of the prison of the Castellany. 1587.

CHARLES d'Orleans is put in possession of the grand priory of France, without any reservation, and in the very same manner that Henry de Angoulême had enjoyed it.

BROTHER Michael de Sevre, grand prior of Champagne, takes a very inconsiderate step, and appeals from the decrees of the last general chapter, to the secular tribunal.

THE spirit of sedition still continues in the convent. The grand master goes to Rome. The pope, to silence the malecontents, creates him a cardinal, and sends him back to Malta.

SEVERAL prizes taken by the knights who were out a cruising. 1588.

THE grand master makes choice of James Bosio to write the history of the order, which had been begun by the commander John Anthony Fossan. 1589.

DEATH of pope Sixtus Quintus, who is succeeded by Gregory XIV. 1590.

THE Jews and their effects are, by a particular brief of the pope, declared to be lawful prize. 1591.

THE plague makes dreadful havock in the island of Malta. The Jesuits are brought in by bishop  
 1592. Gargallo, and settle there.

THE commander John Otho Bosio is made  
 1593. vice-chancellor.

THE pope grants the priory of Barletto, vacant by the death of cardinal Scipio of Gonzaga, to prince Ferdinand of Gonzaga, afterwards cardinal, and, at last, duke of Mantua.

THE grand priory of Venice, after having  
 1594. been possessed by cardinal Farnese, devolves to cardinal Colonna.

HENRY IV. after the death of Henry III. and during the time of the civil wars, disposes of the grand priory of Aquitain in favour of the commander de Chattes; and of that of Auvergne in favour of the baron de Bellegarde, though he was a layman.

THE dignity of cardinal, which the pope had conferred on the grand master, is not sufficient  
 1595. to put a stop to the restless and seditious humour of the malecontents: so that this prince, tired out with their continual murmurs and complaints, makes another voyage to Rome, and dies of grief.

BROTHER don MARTIN GARZEZ, of  
 1596. the language of Arragon, is chosen grand  
 MARTIN master. He had no favourites, no partiality, and his government was agreeable  
 GARZEZ. both to the knights and the people.

POPE Clement VIII. confers the priory of Pisa upon don Antonio de Medicis.

THE Turks ravage Hungary; and the council of the order, to encourage the succouring of that  
 1597. nation, declares, by a solemn edict, that any knights who should serve in that country against the infidels, the order will reckon that service an equivalent to their residence, and that they shall be intitled to the same privileges as if they had resided in the convent; or had served on board the vessels of the order.

THE emperor of Rodolph II. issues out a diploma, which terminates the affair of Bohemia to the satisfaction of the order. 1598.

NEW troubles at Malta, occasioned by the proceedings of the inquisitors, whose successors carry them to a still greater height. 1599.

THE grand master and the council make a decree in favour of the Swiss, allowing their children to be received into the priory of Germany, provided these children are born in lawful wedlock of father and mother, grandfather and grandmother, great grandfather and great grandmother, all Roman catholics, and statutablely qualified, who had never been mechanics, but descended from officers, captains, and commanders, whose profession of arms was to be considered on the footing of nobility.

THE century ends with the fortifications which the grand master and the council make in the castle and isle of Goza.

THE bailliage of Armenia suppressed. Great 1600.  
disputes between the languages of Italy and Germany, both of them claiming the priory of Hungary.

THE inquisitors, to make their court to the pope, are continually making incroachments on the authority of the grand master and council, and make themselves odious and insupportable to the knights.

DEATH of the grand master don Martin de Garzez. Brother ALOF DE VIGNACOUR, grand hospitaller of France, is chosen to succeed him. 1601.  
This knight, who was of the language of France, and of a very antient family of the province of Picardy, was great ALOF DE VIGNACOUR.  
cross and hospitaller of the order, when his merit raised him to the dignity of grand master : and there has hardly ever been a mastership more famous than his ; whether we consider its duration, which was upwards of twenty years, or the various events that happened in the order during his administration.

THE grand master dispatched several embassadors to notify his election to the principal sovereigns of Christendom. The commander Rodrigo Britto was sent to the pope; brother Nicholas Dellamara to the emperor; brother William de Meaux Bois Boudran was employed in the same quality at the court of the king of France; and don Bernard de Zuniga at that of his catholic majesty.

THE inquisitor Veralli is for taking cognizance of the affairs of the government; in which he is openly countenanced by pope Clement VIII.

THE gallies of the order seize upon the town of Mahometa, on the coast of Barbary; an enterprise formed with great prudence, and executed with as much valour.

EMERY de Chattes made embassador of the order to king Henry IV.

ENTERPRIZE of the knights upon the towns of Lepanto and Patras.

1603. A GENERAL chapter held.

THE gallies of the order ravage the isle of Lango, formerly so dear to the knights, during their residence at Rhodes; but now their successors carry off 165 slaves, out of hatred to the Turks.

1605. DEATH of pope Clement VIII.

PAUL V. his successor, gives three commandries of the language of Italy to one of his nephews, though they did not happen to fall vacant in the court of Rome: and a little while afterwards, he likewise conferred the commandry of Benevento upon cardinal Buffaio.

PROJECT of a knight, a Dalmatian by birth, but of the language of Germany, proposed to the order, for getting the Poles to restore the great commandry of Polna, which was fallen into secular hands, upon condition of establishing a body of knights in that kingdom, to serve on horseback against the Turks; which did not succeed, by reason of the obstacles

obstacles put in the way by a prince of the house of Radzivil, whose ancestors or relations had probably got possession of it.

TROUBLES at Malta in the inn and language of Germany, on account of an attempt which had been made to get Charles count of Brie, 1608. natural son to Henry duke of Lorraine, admitted into that language ; the affair is carried to such an height, that the Germans tear down the arms of the grand master and the order from off the gate of their inn, and leave only those of the emperor.

FRANCIS de Lorraine, called the chevalier de Gursé, makes his first campaign on board 1609. the gallies of Malta.

THE chevaliers Fresenet, Maurot, and Gaucort, surprise the fortress of Lajazzo in the gulf of that name, make their way into it by means of a petard, which blew up the gate ; take a great booty, and, after blowing up the fortifications of the place, carry off above 300 slaves.

A YEAR fatal to France and the order of Malta, by the assassination of Henry the 1610. great.

CORINTH taken and sacked by the gallies of the order. 1611.

THE prince of Vendosme made general of the gallies of the order. 1612.

THE grand master upon receiving advice that the corsairs of Barbary designed to make an attempt upon the isle of Goza, sends troops, 1613. ammunition, and provisions thither.

A NEW alarm in the language of Italy, by the pope's granting the duke of Modena's son the *gratia expectativa*, a kind of bull, upon the 1614. commandry of Reggio : a favour of a dangerous nature from the ill consequences that might ensue.

SIXTY Turkish gallies appear off of the isle 1615. of Malta, and land 5000 men, but are able to make

make no slaves from the care the inhabitants take to retire into the strong holds.

THE grand master makes an aqueduct to carry a fine large spring from the city of Malta commonly  
1616. called the Notable city, to the city of Vallette, and the piazza before the grand master's palace : a work worthy of the Roman grandeur.

THE duke of Nevers is for founding a new order, or, properly speaking, for separating the old one of St. Sepulchre from the order of St. John of Jerusalem. Brother don Lewis Mendez de Vasconcellos, bailiff of Acre, a very able negotiator, is dispatched to the court of France, to traverse the duke's designs. He arrives in France with the quality of ambassador extraordinary, and went to his first audience attended by the commander de Silery ambassador in ordinary, brother de St. Leger, receiver of the priory of France, the commander de Formigeres captain of the life-guards, the commander de Girlande, and all the knights who were then at Paris, and about the court. He presented his letter to the king, who gave as favourable an answer to it as could be wished, and the duke of Nevers's project came to nothing.

FACARDIN, prince of the Drusi, comes to Malta, to implore the protection and succour of the order against the grand seignior's persecutions.

BOSIO, who was only an honorary knight, pretending to dispute precedence with a knight  
1617. who was his senior, was made sensible that his seniority could not be reckoned but from the day of his rehabilitation, and that an honorary knight could never be advanced to the dignities of the order.

THE treasury of the order cause a gallion  
1618. to be built in the port of Amsterdam, which costs 60,000 crowns of gold.

NEW fortifications raised in the roads of St. Paul, of Maria-Sirocco, and Marsa Scale, and in the little isle of Comino, situated between Malta and Goza.

CAGLIARES,

CAGLIARES, bishop of Malta, makes several incroachments on the authority of the grand master and council : he goes to Rome to support them, and leaves behind him a vicar-general as pragmatical as himself. The young knights of all the languages, unable to endure the audaciousness of that turbulent fellow, run to look for him in his house, in order to throw him into the sea. The grand master obliges him to surrender himself, and sends him to Rome to answer the prosecution against him. The pope is incensed at this affair, orders his inquisitor to examine into it, and threatens to excommunicate the grand master and council, whose submission at last puts an end to the affair.

THE army of the catholic league make an unsuccessful attempt in order to seize upon the town of Susa on the coast of Barbary. A considerable number of knights had a share in this expedition, among whom are reckoned brother Anthony Barras, brother Francis Juxs, brother de la Meusana, brother Merault de Pelons, brother Melchior de Gozon-Melac, brother Anthony an honorary knight, captain of foot in the service of the king of Spain : and among the wounded were brother Alphonso Castel St. Pierre, captain of the admiral-galley of the order, brother Anthony Mastrillo, captain of the patroness, brother John de Saligy, a native of Auvergne, brother Cesar de St. Peryer, of the language of France, who died at Malta of his wounds, brother Azeredoa Castilian, and brother Luys Mendez Vasconcellos, a Portuguese.

FRANCIS Ottoman, a dominican friar, who pretended to be son to the grand seignior Achmet, comes to Malta, and is received there upon the recommendation of cardinal Verally, president of the congregation of the Catechumens.

ENTERPRISE of the gallies of the order upon Castel-Tornez. The commander brother Alphonso Castel St. Pierre is named by the general of the gallies to head that enterprise. They clap three petards to the gate, and break into the palace ; which was a kind of magazine

gazine to all the Morea. The general of the gallies has notice given him by a Greek, that in case he does not retire immediately, his retreat will be intercepted by 4000 Turks who were hard by. He orders a retreat to be sounded, and St. Pierre, who received the same advice, forms a squadron, and makes his way to the sea with the booty and the prisoners he had taken.

1621. DEATH of Paul V, who is succeeded by Gregory XV. This pope issues out bulls to confirm all the privileges which his predecessors had granted to the order.

NEW complaints of the language of Italy, on account of being deprived of their right of succeeding to the vacant commandries, by the popes nomination to them oftentimes before they became so.

THE commander de Chatte Gessan is sent to Malta by king Lewis XIII. to desire the order to join their gallies to his, in order to fight against the Hugonots.

THE chevalier de Casselani de Montemedan is by the council ordered to go with the gallies to Marseilles, and to carry thither the great gallion which had been built at Amsterdam.

THE grand master de Vignacour being a hunting, and pursuing a hare in all the heat of the month of August, was seized with a fit of an apoplexy, just as had happened fifty years before to the grand master de la Vallette. They carried him to the new city, where he appointed brother Nicholas la Mara, great admiral of the order, to be his lieutenant. He afterwards received the sacraments of the church with great devotion, disposed of his effects as usual, and died on the 14th of September, being 75 years old.

THE chapter met to chuse him a successor. There were two pretenders, viz. Luys Mendez de Vasconcellos a portuguese, bailiff of Acre, who had been embassador from the order to the courts of Rome and France,

and Anthony de Paule, of the language of Provence, grand prior of St. Giles. Brother don LUYS MENDEZ had the preference, and was accordingly proclaimed grand master

master on the 17th of September; but he hardly enjoyed his dignity six months; and the little time that he outlived Vignacour, was employed in confirming the wise regulations he had made. The grand master being near fourscore years of age, died on the sixth of March 1623.

THE 10th of the same month, they proceeded to the election of a new grand master, and the choice of the convent fell upon brother Anthony de Paule, prior of St. Giles, being seventy one years old. The commander de Tormegeres, embassador of the order in France, dying about this time, the commander Durand de Villegagnon, was put a second time into that post, to notify the election of the new grand master to Lewis XIII.

DEATH of pope Gregory XV. who is succeeded by Urban VIII. This pope gets Anthony Barberini, his great nephew, to be received into the order as a chevalier de Justice, with a dispensation for keeping his residence, and serving in the galleys of the order.

JOHN de Fonteca, a Portuguese novice, or probationer, has his head cut off in the great piazza of the palace, after having been found guilty of robbery and murder.

BROTHER Faulcon, prior of Capua, being convicted of embezzelling 15000 ducats of the revenue received from Naples, 2000 crowns of that of Rome, and 15000 ducats more of what the grand master Lewis Mendez left behind him, is condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and dies in prison.

THE grand master does not want enemies among a set of men, who are impudent enough to fancy they can out-face truth, and make the blackest falsehoods pass for matters of fact. They present a memorial to the pope, wherein they take notice that the grand master is a man of loose life and conversation; that he is guilty of simony, and had bought his dignity with money. De Paule sent the commander brother Denis Polastron

Polastron de la Hilliere to Rome; who, being a man of the greatest probity and virtue, justified him in the most honourable manner from all these calumnies. The grand master had hardly got rid of this affair, when he had another upon his hands, which was full as troublesome, because pope Urban VIII. was both judge and party in it. His holiness took upon him to dispose of the commandries of the language of Italy. He had before given the two commandries of Milan and Bufalora, to don Antonio Barberini his nephew, and he afterwards gave that of Ascoli to the chevalier Machiavelli; that of Volterra to the chevalier brother Donat Rustici; the right of seniority to the commander brother Hubert Ricafoli, and the commandry of Monopoli to the chevalier brother Alexander Zambecari. These new concessions, added to those of the popes Paul V. and Gregory XV. which were computed to amount to no less than 17 commandries, put all the language of Italy in a flame. The knights refused to make their campaigns, or to serve on board the ships or gallies of the order; and most of them retired to their own houses and relations. The grand master, to remedy this disorder, called a council, when it was agreed, that they should send an ambassador to the pope, to lay before him the just complaints of the order. They likewise sent three others on the same account, to the principal sovereigns of Christendom. Brother James du Liege-Charault, grand hospitaller, was ordered to Rome; brother John Conrard de Rosbach, bailiff of Brandenburg, was sent to the emperor; la Marra, prior of Messina, and general of the gallies, to the king of France; and brother don John Ximenes, prior of Navarre, to the king of Spain. These ambassadors were likewise directed to lay before those princes, an account of the abuse of certain dispensations which were granted to the knights at Rome, by which they were allowed to dispose of their effects, whereby the common treasury was defrauded of its right, and which could end no otherwise than in  
the

the ruin of the order. We shall take notice of the issue of this embassy to Rome under the year 1626.

THE order makes an attempt upon the island of Santa Maura, in possession of the Turks, which miscarries: twelve knights were killed in it, besides a great number who were wounded. 1625.

A GREAT sea-engagement, in which the order loses two gallies, the St. John and the St. Francis: several knights were killed in it, others wounded, and some made slaves.

To these misfortunes must be added another; for the pope, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the grand master, and the council, continues to bestow the Italian commandries on his relations. 1626.

THE order had hitherto never kept up above five gallies, but the grand master now causes a sixth to be built. 1627.

URBAN, who was no friend to the order, not satisfied with plundering it of its principal commandries in Italy, which he bestowed upon his relations, now publishes an ordinance, *motu proprio*, changing the method that had been always hitherto observed in the election of the grand masters. 1628.

BROTHER Achilles d'Estampes Valençai is made a great cross de grace (or by favour) upon the recommendation of Lewis XIII. king of France. 1629.

ANTONIO BOSIO, who was natural son to the bailiff brother John Otho, and adopted by his uncle James Bosio, made a great progress in polite literature, and especially in the knowledge of ecclesiastical history; so that his profound capacity, threw as it were a shade over the meanness of his extraction, as may be seen by his several works; particularly that of *Roma subterranea*. He succeeds his adoptive father in the post of agent to the order at Rome; and being the last

person left of his name, he succeeds this year to all the estate and effects of the family.

THE pope, still intent upon reducing the government of the order, agreeable to his secret views, is for changing the old usage that 1630. had been observed in general chapters.

SOME Christian slaves, who composed the crew of a Turkish galley, commanded by Manni-Bei of Famagusta in the isle of Cyprus, rebel against 1631. him, take up arms, and either kill the captain and the soldiers of the galley, or force them to leap over-board, make themselves masters of the galley, and arrive safe at Malta.

A GENERAL chapter appointed on the 11th of May. The pope consents that they should retain the old usage in it of sixteen commissaries, two for every language : but he insists, that the inquisitor shall preside over them, and have a power of delegating, in case of absence, any body whom he shall think fit in his place ; that he shall likewise have a power of suspending the chapter, as well as of proroguing. The grand master assures the pope, that he is disposed to obey him, but that the body of the order could not bear with patience his holiness's introducing a person into the government who did not belong to the order, with the title and authority of president. The pope having no manner of regard to these remonstrances, the council thought fit to submit. But, in order to avoid the fire and violence of the young knights, they send them to sea a cruising whilst the general chapter is held.

ON sunday the 11th of May 1631, this general chapter is opened, in which presided the most serene lord Francis Anthony de Paule, grand master.

THE most reverend Imbroll, prior of the church.

Conventual bailiffs.

BROTHER	{	Claude Durré Ventarob,	great	{	commander.
		Francis Cremeaux,			marshal.
		Tussin de Ternez Boistrigault,			hospitaller.
		Philip de Gaetan,			admiral.
		Lewis de Moncada,			conservator.
					grand

## Grand priors.

BROTHER	{	Juste du Fay Gerlande,	prior of	{	Auvergne.
		George de Castellane d'Aluis,			Toulouse.
		Antonio Maria de Ciaia,			Lombardy.
		Nicolas Cavaretta,			Venice.
		Nicolas de la Marra,			Messina.
		Philip Bardaxi,			Emposta.

## Capitulary bailiffs.

BROTHER	{	Signorin Gattenava, bailiff or prior of the bailliage of St. Euphemia.			
		Francis Sans, bailiff of Negrepont.			
		Cesar Feretti, bailiff or prior of St. Stephens.			
		Alexander Benfi, bailiff or prior of St. Trinity of Venusia.			
		Antonio Bracaccio, bailiff or prior of St. John near the sea of Naples.			
		Humphrey de l'Hospital,	bailiff of	{	Majorca.
		Francis Puget Chessuel,			Manolique.
		Juste de Brun Laliege,			Leon.
		De Rosbach,			Brandenburg.
		John de Bernoi Villeneuve,			L'Aigle.
		Laurence de Figueroa,			St. Sepulchre.
		Lucius Grimaldi,			Pavia.
		Lewis of Britto Mascarnay,			Acre.
		James Christopher Abandlau,			&c.
		Alexander Orfi,			&c.

## Lieutenants of the conventual bailiffs.

BROTHER	{	Matthias James Phirt, lieutenant of the bailiff of Germany.		
		Thomas Hozis, lieutenant of the great chancellor.		

## Proxies of the priors.

BROTHER

- { Biagio Brandoa, proxy of the most serene Ferdinand cardinal Infant, administrator of the priory of Portugal.
- Francis Buonaroti, proxy of the most illustrious don John Charles de Medicis, prior of Pisa.
- Anthony Scalamonte, proxy of the illustrious brother Aldobrandino Aldobrandini, prior of Rome.
- Tristan de Villeneuve, proxy of brother James de Mauleon la Bultide, prior of St. Gilles.
- Robert de Viole Soulere, proxy of brother William de Meaux Baudran, prior of France.
- Charles de Vajure, proxy of brother Peter de Beaujeu, prior of Champagne.
- { Julio Amali, proxy of brother Peter Vintimiglia, prior of Capua.
- Martin de Redin, prior of Navarre, by appearing in person, suspended the powers of brother Ginesio Ruiz his proxy.
- Policarpe de Casteloi, proxy of brother Peter George Pridorfila, prior of Catalonia.
- Lewis Melzi, proxy of brother Frederic Hunt, prior of Ireland.
- Anthony Pontremoli, chaplain of the language of Provence, proxy of brother Arteman, prior of Hungary.
- Eberard, baron d'Estain, proxy of brother Theodore Kolman, prior of Denmark.
- { Don John de Zuniga, proxy of don Bernardin de Zuniga, prior of Castile and Leon.

## Proxies of the capitular bailiffs.

BROTHER.

- { John Baptiste Calderari, proxy of the eminent cardinal Cornaro, great commander of Cyprus.

Baldassar

BROTHER

- { Baldassar de Marzilla, proxy of brother Lapert de Arbiza bailiff of Caspe.  
 Francis de Godoi, proxy of brother don Diego de Guzman bailiff of Lora.  
 Joachim de Challemaison, proxy of brother James de Chenu de Bellai, bailiff of Armenia.  
 Gabriel Dorin de Ligny, lieutenant and proxy of brother James du Liege-Charault, treasurer-general.  
 Don Lewis de Cardenas, proxy of the illustrious bailiff brother Caraffa.  
 Gaspard de Maisonneule, proxy of the bailiff brother Achilles d'Estampes Valençay.

Proxies of the languages.

- |      |   |           |  |
|------|---|-----------|--|
| Of { | Provençe,<br>Auvergne,<br>France,<br>Italy,<br>Arragon, Catalonia and<br>Navarre, }<br>Germany,<br>Castile and }<br>Portugal, } | BROTHER { | Francis Bagarris.<br>Charles de Fay Gerlande.<br>Alexander de Grimonval.<br>Octavio Ceoli.<br><br>Gerome Bardaxi.<br><br>John James de Welthause.<br>Gabriel d'Angulo. |
|------|---|-----------|--|

The order being suppressed in England, no proxies were named for that language.

Proxies of the commanders of the priories.

- |      |  |           |  |
|------|--|-----------|--|
| Of { | the priory of St.<br>Giles,<br>Toulouse,<br><br>Auvergne,<br><br>France, | BROTHER { | Henry de Latis-Entragues.<br><br>Francis de Crottes de la Menardie.<br>Peter Lewis Chantellot la Chese.<br>Peter de Carvel de Merai. |
|------|--|-----------|--|
- K 3
- Champagne,

of	{	Champagne,	BROTHER	{	Joachim de Sennevoi.
		Rome,			Curtius Bombino.
		Lombardy,			Alphonso Castel de St. Pierre.
		Venice,			Fiorin Borso.
		Pisa,			Ugolin Grifoni.
		Barletto,			Gerolamo Zato.
		Messina,			Philip Moleti.
		Capua,			Alphonso Dura.
		the castellany of Emposta,			Peter Marzella.
		Catalonia,			Melchior Dureta
	{	Navarre,		{	Francis Torreblanca.
		Germany,			John de Repach.
		Castile & Leon,			Alphonso de Angulo.

Companions of the grand master.

Of	{ the language of Provence, Brother Girolamo de Merle Beauchamps, cavalcadour of the grand master, and brother Peter de Bernana Hornolach.		
	Auvergne,	BROTHER	{ Baldassar d'Alben, and brother Foucaud de St. Hilaré.
	France,		{ Adrian deContremoulins, and brother Francis de la Grange.
	Italy,		{ John Minutolo, and brother Mario Alliata.
	Arragon, Catalonia, and Navarre,		{ N. N.
	England,		{ John Baptist Macedonio, and brother Stephen del Portico.
	Germany,		{ William Henry de Wasperg.
	Castile and Portugal,		{ Gondifalvo de Albernoz, and brother don Bernardin de Norogua.

THE inquisitor then presented a brief from the pope, by which he was named to preside at the election of the sixteen commissaries appointed to regulate the affairs of the order, but not to have any vote there, to meddle in, proposing any matter, or to speak his sentiments in any debate. The grand master, either out of prudence or policy, suffered the chapter to accept this brief, and then they proceeded to the choice of the commissaries. There were two for each language.

For	Provence,	{ Villanova bailiff of Aquila, and brother Francis Crotte la Menardie.
	Auvergne,	{ Gerlande, prior of Auvergne, and la Liegue, prior of Lions.
	France,	{ Boisrigault, grand hospitalier, and brother Gabriel Dorin de Legai.
	Italy,	{ La Marra, prior of Messina, and Gattinara, prior of St. Euphemia.
	Aragon, Catalonia, and Navarre,	{ Sans, bailiff of Negrepont, and L'hospital, bailiff of Majorca.
	England,	{ Serissori, the inquisitor, named, by the pope's orders, brother Peter Lewis Chantelot la Chese, of the language of Auvergne, and brother don Juan de Villaroel, of the priory of Castile.
	Germany,	{ The bailiff brother James Christopher Abandlau, and brother Evrard baron de Estain.
	Castile and Portugal.	{ Brother Thomas Hozes, lieutenant of the great chancellor, and brother Biagio Brandao.

THE chapter having consigned over all its authority to these sixteen commissaries, they, together with the inquisitor, retired into the conclave, which was held in the hall of the palace of the tower. The inquisitor, as has been already observed, presided in it according to the pope's intentions, but had no vote or authority to make any motion. Boisfrigault, the grand hospitalier, as being the oldest of the sixteen, proposed the affairs on which they were to deliberate. Imbroll, prior of the church, in quality of the grand master's proxy, Abela the vice-chancellor, and brother Peter Turamini, secretary to the treasury, intervened in this assembly, in which very prudent regulations were made for determining the general and particular affairs that came before them. There has been no chapter held since this time, and therefore the judgments given, and the regulations made in this, serve at this day for a law, and are the rule for deciding of any disputes that may arise in the order.

THE order loses the galley of St. John, which is wrecked by a storm on the coast of Calabria. 1632. The crew save themselves on shore, and they afterwards get out the artillery and the principal effects.

THIS year the inhabitants of the isles of Malta and Goza were numbered, who amounted to 51750, including men, women and children, and exclusive of the knights of the order, the clergy, and those who were called at Malta, the Familiares of the inquisition.

BROTHER Imbroll, prior of the church, offers the order to write an history, when leave is given him to search into the registers of the chancery. The year following cardinal Barberini recommended another to the order for the same purpose, viz. the chevalier brother Cesar Mugalotti, who was admirably well qualified for it, and a person of great learning. Both of them began their work, but left it imperfect.

The gallies of the order sail out, towards the end of April, a privateering, under the command of general Valdi, and take, near the isle of Zante, four ships or vessels

vessels, with 650 moors or negroes on board, which they were sending from Barbary to Constantinople. The same general has another engagement with the corsairs of Tripoli, makes 338 of them slaves, and delivers 60 Christians. The Venetians make heavy complaints that the galleys of the order take prizes in the seas, and upon the demesnes of the republic. The Maltese ambassador, by the grand master's order, answers them, that the order would be willing enough to deliver back the grand seignior's subjects who had been taken in the gulph, but that as for the corsairs, they should be sold as villains and enemies to all religions and all nations. Another squabble with the republic of Lucca, which is followed with a decree against receiving any of that state as chevaliers de justice: the pope makes up the dispute.

ADVENTURES of prince Guchia, who pretended to be son to Mahomet III. and whom his mother, who was of the house of Comneni, and a Christian by birth, had sent to be educated among the Christians. The order espouses this real or pretended prince.

THE schismatical Greek Christians of the east bribe the Turks, and turn the European Franciscans out of the keeping of the holy sepulchre, Calvary, Bethlehem, and other sacred places of Palestine. The pope desires the grand master and council, as better acquainted with the disposition of the Ottoman court, to take measures for restoring the Latin friars to the guardianship of the holy places. The grand master and his council are of opinion, that they should try what force could do, and not spare the schismatical Greeks whenever they fell into the hands of any catholic princes.

THE pope's too great uneasiness in granting the great cross to such as were no more than private knights, makes the order resolve to oppose the brief which he had granted to the chevalier de Souvré, though his father had been governor to king Lewis XIII.

DEATH of the grand master de Paule, in the 58th year of his age, after a sickness of near three months: his epitaph contains his encomium and his character.

1636.  
June 10th.  
" Fratri

“ Fratri Antonio de Paula, magno militiæ hierosolymitanæ magistro, principi gratissimo, splendidissimo, qui, ob egregias animi dotes, vivens in omnibus sui amorem, extinctus desiderium excitavit ; pacem mirifice coluit & affluentiam ; ordinis vires, opes adidit, auxit : ampliori munire vallo urbem aggressus cum annum ageret magisterii decimum quartum, ætatis supra octogesimum (quintum) diuturno cum morbo constanter conflictus, semper se ipso major piissimè ac religiosissimè quievit in Domino, septimo id. Junii, anno Sal. 1636.”

THE 13th of June 1636, brother Paul Lascaris Castelard, bailiff of Manoſque, descended from the courts of Vintimiglia, and the antient emperors of Constantinople, was chose successor to Anthony de Paul. The next day the council, according to the usual custom, declared the new grand master sovereign of the isles of Malta and Goza, with all the rights his predecessors had enjoyed.

MALTA suffers much from the dearness of corn. The grand master applies to the president of Sicily, who is hard-hearted enough to refuse the suffering of any to be exported out of the island. Nari, general of the galleys, addresses himself to the vice-roy of Naples, who allows him to take up 6000 loads, and carry them away, free of all manner of custom, and duty of exportation.

LASCARIS has a quantity of new species coined, in order to pay the workmen who were continually employed in raising new fortifications, under the direction of Florian an engineer, colonel of a regiment of foot, whom the grand master honoured with the cross and habit of the order.

BROTHER don Peter de Vintimiglia, of the same family with the grand master, makes a foundation for ever of the timber of a galley, bearing the name of St. Peter, and, for the security of it, settles two houses, of a thousand crowns a year, which he had upon the mole of Messina. Cavaretta, prior of Venice, makes the

the like foundation for another galley, which was to be called the St. Nicholas ; and the commander Conrard Scheifurt de Merode founds the commandry of Breslaw in the language of Germany.

THE grand master divides all the inhabitants of Malta into companies, to whom they give arms : some knights are set over them to instruct them how to make use of them to oppose the inroads and descents of the Turks and corsairs.

THE duke of Montalto, viceroy of Sicily, the president, and the rest of the king of Spain's officers, are still exasperated against the order, 1637. and not only prohibit the exportation of corn, but give orders for arresting all the Maltese ships that should put into the ports of the island. The occasion of their uneasiness was, that as the two crowns of France and Spain were at war, some French knights, who were on board either ships or gallies of France, had taken considerable prizes at the entrance of the harbour of Malta. Upon these orders of the regency, two gallies of the order putting into the port of Syracuse, they were going to seize them : but the commodore being aware of their design, put off immediately, and went out of the harbour. The governor, or the commanding officer, fired all the cannon of the castle upon him, to oblige him to come back ; but he, in spite of his artillery, got out to sea, and returned to Malta. This behaviour of the Spaniards, who had continual proofs of the services which the knights did their prince for the defence of his dominions, offended all Europe ; and it was said, particularly in the courts of Italy, that the gallies of Malta had never been cannonaded before, but by the corsairs and infidels. The duke of Montalto, fearing lest these reports should reach his master's ear, or that the grand master should complain to him, as he had just reason to do, thought fit to disown the conduct of the governor of Syracuse, and to condemn his proceedings, and, to give a more substantial satisfaction for what had been done, promised to allow the exportation of corn to Malta.

THE

THE commander de Talembach, of the language of Germany, offers the order to fit out a galley at his own expence : the proposál was very agreeable to the council, but the war spreading more and more in Germany, Talembach's proposál came to nothing.

THE commandry of Sarrafine is founded in Sicily, and the founder complimented with the privilege of wearing the habit of the order, and enjoying the profits of his commandry during his life.

SOME French knights lie, with a naval force, in the channel of Malta, and take several prizes from the Spaniards, during the war between the two crowns. Captain Paul, a serving brother, and a Frenchman horn, takes an Algerine vessel in the same place, carries it into Malta, and is well received there. But the grand master forbids him and all the knights to fight against any Christian prince, and writes about it to the king of France in very strong terms, representing to him, that some knights on board his gallies had just taken some Sicilian ships, which had interrupted the necessary commerce between the isles of Sicily and Malta, and had exasperated the king of Spain's ministers, who gave out that all this was done in concert with the council of the order.

THE commander de Charolt, general of the gallies, goes a cruising, takes several little vessels at first, and lights upon three large ships of Tripoli, that served for a convoy to a great number of other vessels. The Maltese general, without amusing himself with cannonading them, prepares to lay them on board, and divides his gallies. The admiral galley, and the St. Peter, under the command of the chevalier John Jerome de Gallean Chateauneuf, fell upon the commodore galley of the infidels. The St. Nicholas and the Victoria, commanded by brother John Baptiste Caracciolo, and brother John Brandao, attack the admiral. The St. Ubaldesque and St. Anthony, commanded by brother Bartholomew Galiley, and brother Francis Talhult, set upon the vice-admiral. The engagement was bloody, and the infidels made a brave defence.

Four hundred and fifty Turkish soldiers were on board this little fleet, which was commanded by Ibrahim Rais, called la Becasse, a renegado of Marseilles, who, for a long time, had served in quality of a pilot on board the gallies of the order, and whose wife and children were still at Malta.

BUT he having been taken by the corsairs of Tripoli had turned Mahometan, had served on board the infidel fleets, and, by his valour and capacity, raised himself to the post of admiral. Chateauneuf, who commanded the St. Peter, laid him aboard, and Marcel de Chateauneuf, the captain's brother, is the first who enters his ship, at the head of a good number of knights; he cuts the Turkish soldiers to pieces, seizes la Becasse, drags and carries him to Galean de Chateauneuf his brother, under whom he had formerly served as a pilot. The other commanders had as good success; so that all the little fleet was taken, and not so much as a single vessel escaped. They made 312 slaves, and the general of the gallies returns victorious into the harbour of Malta with twenty ships and vessels laden with a rich booty. The order lost several very brave knights in this engagement, and, among others, brother Denis of Viontesancourt, brother Bernard Perrot of Malmaison, brother David Sanbolin, a novice, and brother Nicholas of Biencourt, a serving brother, all of the language of France; brother Francis Isnard, brother Piolomini, and brother Philibert Gattinara, of the language of Italy; brother Alonso Garzez of Marcilli, an Afragonian novice; and brother Gaspard of Sousa, a Portuguese. A much greater number of knights were wounded, they never failing to expose themselves without the least reserve on such occasions.

BALAGU, bishop of Malta, to make his clergy more numerous, gave the tonsure, and the four lesser orders, to all such young fellows in Malta as presented themselves for that purpose. These new ecclesiastics thought their tonsure was sufficient to dispense them from appearing in the companies in which they were enlisted, from mounting the guard in their turns, and

from performing the other military functions to which the grand master had obliged the inhabitants. The king of Spain and pope Urban VIII. blame the bishop's conduct, and condemn the pretended ecclesiastics to the tonsure, and to wear the habit of their order, and to serve in the church agreeable to that function as there might be occasion for them, and ordered that all such of them as should be taken without their clerical habits, should be obliged to mount guard in the same manner as the other lay-inhabitants.

POPE Urban VIII. who had no affection for the order, but, on the contrary, resolved to subvert the government of it, grants leave, without the privity of the grand master, to the old commanders to make their wills, and dispose of their effects. A step calculated for the utter ruin of the treasury of the order, which, by this permission, is deprived of their personal estates.

SIXTEEN Algerine gallies join together to make a descent in the Marca d'Ancona, and plunder the rich treasure of our lady of Loretto.

CAPELLO, admiral of the Venetian fleet, meets and pursues them; they fly into the port of la Valone, belonging to the grand seignior, where the Venetian admiral burns them without respect to their asylum\*. This raises the grand seignior's resentment, who threatens to fall upon them; but he is at last pacified with a sum of money.

SOME knights, who were just come to be their own masters, mask themselves in carnival time, in the habit of Jesuits. The fathers complain of it to the grand master, who orders some of the young men to be arrested, but their comrades break open the prison-doors, and set them at liberty. Upon this they all go in a body to the college, throw the furniture through the windows, and force the grand master to consent to their being sent out of the island. Eleven Jesuits were put on board, four only staid behind, who had hid themselves in the city of la Valette. The council and the great crosses did not discover any great

\* Amurat IV.

great concern at the banishment of these fathers, who, in opposition to their interest, had taken upon themselves to govern the grand masters.

THE foundation of two commandries; that of Nardo by Lewis Anthony de Massa, for the language of Italy; and that of Nice, by the grand master, for the language of Provence.

THE prince of Hesse d'Armstat, general of the gallies, takes six vessels of the corsairs in 1640. the port of Goletta.

A YEAR fatal to the order by continuation of the wars between the Christian princes. The treasury had not received so much as a single crown from Germany for twenty years together. Most of the French and Italian commandries were ruined; the exchange ran very high amongst them; so that a crown, which was worth 13 or 14 tarins, would hardly produce eleven upon exchange, which obliged the grand master and council to take up 100,000 ducats of the bank of Genoa at interest, in order to carry on the fortifications of the island.

New disputes with the Venetians, who, 1641. as usual, sequester the estates of the order.

ULADISLAUS IV. king of Poland, writes to the grand master, and pretends that the commandries of Bohemia ought to be common to the Polish knights as well as to those of Bohemia, since both priories were of the same language.

WAR of the Barberini against the duke of 1642. Parma, in which they, under pretence of his debts, wanted to seize upon the dukedom of Castro.

URBAN VIII. finding that several Italian princes had entered into a league to prevent 1643. his seizing on the dominions of the duke of Parma, requires the grand master to send him the gallies of the order. His commands are immediately obeyed; but the allies seize, in revenge, upon all the estates of the order within their territories, and cannot be prevailed upon to take off the sequestration till the order shews them, that notwithstanding they had been

forced to comply with the orders of the pope, their first superior, nevertheless the commanders of the galleys had private orders to be only on the defensive, agreeable to their institution, which obliged them to offer no insult to any Christian prince, and which they had always observed.

A MEMORABLE action of general Boisbaudran, who exposes himself to be surrounded by eight corsairs, 1644. fair galleys, rather than abandon one belonging to the order, which, by reason of the weakness of its crew, was not in a condition to keep up with him.

THE season being still favourable for keeping out at sea, the grand master sent the galleys again a cruising. On the 28th of September, the knights discovered, about 70 miles from Rhodes, a ship to the leeward, not above four miles from them. The commodore being nearest immediately gave her chase: the St. John and St. Joseph soon came up with her, and, seeing her prepare for a vigorous defence, and that she made a furious fire with her great and small shot, the knights grapple with her, board her sword in hand, and force the infidels to throw down their arms, and cry for quarter.

THREE other galleys, viz. the St. Laurence, commanded by Raphael Cotoner, the St. Mary, by the chevalier de Piancour, and the victory by the chevalier Noel de Villegagnon Chanforest, meet with a great galion, which, in order to draw on the knights, conceals her strength, and makes no parade with her artillery.

THE St. Mary, whose crew was in the best condition, was up with her before the two others; when, without considering the great disproportion there is between a single galley and a vessel of so vast a bulk, the chevalier de Piancour, who commanded her, went to lay her aboard, upon which the other galleys advance to succour him. The infidels, seeing their captain and principal officers killed, struck, after an engagement which had lasted seven hours, and in which the order  
lost

lost nine knights, viz. Boisbaudran the general, Piancour, captain of the St. Mary, the chevalier Camillo Schotti, brother Sebastian Bertonmonbai, Charles Morans of St. Mark, brother Robert and Nicholas of Boufflers, and brother Stephen of Algre, all knights probationers, and brother Severin Richard of Allemand, a serving brother; but a much greater number of them were wounded. The Turks lost 600 men, besides a considerable number who were taken prisoners, and among the rest a lady of the seraglio, who was going out of devotion to Mecca, with a young child, the reputed son of the grand seignior Ibrahim, who afterwards entered into the order of St. Dominic, where he went by the name of father Ottoman. The booty was so great, that it reimbursed the treasury for all the expence the order had been at in fitting out its squadrons.

IBRAHIM, hearing of the taking of this great galion, together with all the riches that were on board, sends a herald to declare war against the grand 1645.  
master and the order.

GREAT preparations made by the order to put itself in a condition to oppose the formidable power of the grand seignior. Succours, ammunition, and provisions are sent for from all quarters. A glorious and ever memorable action of Lewis vicomte of Arpajon, a nobleman of the first quality in France, who obliges all his vassals to take up arms; raises a body of 2000 men at his own expence; loads several vessels with ammunition and provisions, and sets sail with them, together with a good number of gentlemen, who were either his friends or relations; arrives at Malta, and presents the grand master with a succour, which was so very considerable, that the like could hardly have been expected from a sovereign prince. The grand master thought he could not better acknowledge a service of this importance, than by making him general of the troops, with the power of naming three lieutenant-generals to command under him in those places where he could not be present himself.

THE event shewed that the grand seignior's threatening of Malta was no more than a false alarm: but he invaded the isle of Candia, besieged and took Canea. All his naval and land forces, his mighty fleets and considerable armies, fell upon that island. Malta, now freed from any danger of an attack, sends a squadron to succour the besieged. The viscount of Arpajon takes leave of the grand master, who, in order to acknowledge the succour he had so generously brought them, signs a bull in form, with the consent of the council, granting him and his eldest son the privilege of wearing the gold cross of the order, and declaring that any one of his younger sons, or his descendants, should be received, during their minority, into the order without paying any fees, and be honoured with the great cross as soon as ever they should have made their profession; and that the chief and eldest branch of the family might quarter the cross in their coat of arms.

THE pope, at the king of Spain's request, desires the grand master to give the great cross to  
 1646. don Philip, son to the king of Tunis, who was turned Christian. The council oppose it vigorously, from the aversion they had of seeing a moor, whose conversion was much to be suspected, fill up one of the first dignities of the order.

BROTHER Jey, marshal of the order, is named general of the gallies, but refuses that post, from  
 1647. the consideration that his dignity of marshal gave him a right of commanding by sea as well as by land. But embarking afterwards, in order to join the Venetian fleet, he meets an Algerine corsair in the channel of Malta, near cape Passaro; an engagement ensues, in which the marshal is shot with a musket ball, of which he dies.

MASSANELLO raises a very dangerous sedition in Naples.

THE adventures of Jacaya, a real or pretended prince of the Ottoman house; his letters to the grand master. Cardinal Maurice of Savoy endeavours to engage the order to declare in his favour, notwithstanding the  
 the

the uncertainty of his pretensions. The grand master excuses himself, because, as he said, it would be impossible to bring his designs to bear, or to support his pretended right to the throne of Constantinople, without the concurrence of the greatest princes of Europe.

POPE Innocent X, in prejudice of the privileges of the order, confers the commandry of Parma upon young Maldachino, nephew to Donna Olimpia, his holiness's sister-in-law. The order sends ambassadors to all the princes of Christendom to complain of this injustice, and to represent to them, that the order would be disabled from fitting out any squadrons against the infidels, if it should be stripped in this manner of its best commandries.

DEATH of the chevalier de Guise, who was killed in trying a cannon.

THE treaties of Munster and Osnaburg deprive the order of a good number of commandries to bestow them on the protestant princes of Germany.

A FAMINE in the island of Malta. Cinqmars, commander of the St. Francis galley, meets a Flemish ship laden with 2000 load of corn, just purchased 1648. in Puglia: the master refuses to sell it to the grand master; but a sudden storm forces him to put into the harbour of Malta, where he sells his corn to the great satisfaction of the people.

THE gallies of the order, after scouring the Levant seas, come back, and put into the port of Messina. The magistrates of the city, from the apprehensions they were under lest these gallies should, in their return to Malta, seize upon some merchant ships which were coming that way laden with corn, lay an embargo on the St. Joseph galley, commanded by don John di Bichi of the language of Italy, by way of hostage; but suffers the other three gallies, commanded by captains of the language of France, to go out of their port. These officers deliver the grand master a letter from the magistrates of Messina, by which they tell him, that the only reason of their laying an embargo on the St.

Joseph

Joseph galley, was in order to employ it in quelling an insurrection of the people, who suffered exceedingly from the dearth of corn. The grand master answers, that he is willing to believe they have no direct intention to offend the order, by an embargo which was so highly injurious to it ; but that they do a great injury to Christendom in preventing the galleys from returning to Candia to the succour of the Venetians. However, the grand master sends to the port of Augusta for corn, which the magistrates of that town were ready to furnish the order with.

THE famine increases at Malta : there is no wheaten bread to be had, not even so much as for the infirm ; so that the knights are forced to live on barley bread. They send every where for corn ; but the captains of the vessels of the order are forbid to touch at the ports of Messina and Palermo.

THE grand seignior Ibrahim is strangled in an insurrection of the janizaries, and they place Mahomet IV. his eldest son, on the throne

CASSEIN, the Turkish general, pursues the war in Candia with great vigour, notwithstanding the revolutions which had happened in the empire.

A GREAT dispute carried on in the court of Rome, between the grand master and Imbroll prior of the church. This prior, who was a seditious man, pretended to have a right, by virtue of his own authority, and without the grand master's consent, to convene an Assembly of the brother chaplains, as if those serving brothers as wells as himself, were not dependant on the grand master. The second point in dispute was this prior's pretending that he only had a right, independently from the grand master, of visiting the nuns of the order, and appointing them confessors. The grand affair in question was, to get the pope to confirm the two volumes of the statutes of the order, which that prior had compiled, and which he was suspected to have modelled according to his own private views, to the prejudice of the supreme and lawful authority of the superiors of the order.

THE battle of Foggia, at the mouth of the Dardanelles, in which the Venetians defeat the 1649. Turks, and take and burn a good number of their ships.

CONTINUATION of the siege of Candia, which is defended by Mocenigo captain general, Morosini provveditor, the governor of the place, and the commander Balbiano general of the gallies of Malta, who being a man of very great experience, was for that reason called to all the councils of war. There was a debate at this time, about an half moon at the bastion of Betlem, which the Turks had taken, and thereby put the rest of the place in danger. This affair was canvassed in the council, when the commander Balbiano offered to recover the works; and, in order to effect it, he put himself at the head of thirty knights, and an hundred of the bravest foldiers of his galley, commanded by the chevalier de Sales, nephew to the famous Sir Francis de Sales bishop of Geneva. The attack is made in the night: the knights in the dark get upon the half-moon and kill all before them. The Turks wake in a surprise, but stand their ground and fight at first with vigour: but being too few to oppose the knights, they are forced at last to fly, to leap over the parapet, and abandon the half-moon.

THE Turkish general makes them the most heavy reproaches for their cowardice; they are ashamed of having quitted their post, and, in order to recover their honour, return the next morning in greater numbers. Cassin, to facilitate their success, springs a mine, which blows up several knights, and, among others, the chevalier de Sales. This knight falls back into the mine, where he is buried to the middle; but being dug out he perfects his lodgement, and gives the Turks such a warm reception that they are not fond of renewing the attack.

NOTWITHSTANDING the treasury was at so low an ebb, and that a grievous famine infested the isle of Malta, the grand master builds fort St. Agatha on the coast of Meleca, and supplies it with arms, provisions  
and

and a good body of knights, in order to oppose any descent of the corsairs on that side.

THE governors of Sicily, not satisfied with having refused the order liberty to export corn from 1650. thence to supply the isle of Malta, refuse likewise to allow them to have any basket made for their gallies, under pretence that it would be a prejudice to the subjects of his catholic majesty. The grand master sends an ambassador to don John of Austria, who interposes with his authority, and removes these obstacles.

FOUNDATION of a library at Malta, and a statute made providing that all the books which shall be found in the personal estates of any of the knights, shall not be sold like their other effects, but shall be transported to Malta.

THE discontent of the king of Spain's ministers in Sicily against the order is renewed, on occasion of the continual seizures which the French made of the Sicilian and Spanish ships; most of the French vessels being commanded by knights of that nation; which hinders the gallies of the order from being supplied with provisions from Sicily.

SEVERAL prizes made by the gallies of the order near cape Bon. Among others an English 1651. vessel is taken, with a cargo on board belonging to the infidels. They here make thirty-two prisoners, among whom is Mahomet BenThes, son to the king of Fez and Morrocco, a youth of twenty-one years of age. Upon their return from this cruising, the gallies of the order, and those of the pope, join the Venetian fleet.

THE Spanish ministers and governors in Sicily, incensed more and more at the continual prizes 1651. made by French vessels, most of which were commanded by knights of that country, order all the estates of the order in that kingdom to be sequestrated, and issue out a prohibition against supplying Malta with any provisions, or suffering any

any Maltese vessels, to put into the ports of the island.

THE grand master and council, surprised at these rigorous orders, endeavour to pacify the king of Spain, and accordingly issue out a general prohibition, by which all the knights are forbid going on board any ships that were to act against Christian princes: and the agents of the order at the court of France make fresh instances, that the French ships may not come and attack those of Spain in the channel of Malta, and off the coast of Sicily. They likewise sent express orders to all the governors in the ports of Malta to keep off the rovers, and not suffer them to put into the ports of the order, as happened afterwards to the chevalier de la Carte, who, after a smart engagement off of Goza, offering to put into the road of Marza Sirocco, was fired upon by the batteries planted there, and forced to tack about; which coming to the knowledge of don John of Austria, the king of Spain's generalissimo, he took off the sequestration and opened a free commerce between Malta and Sicily.

THE crew of the Maltese galleys, being very much weakened by the many voyages they were obliged to make into Candia, the pope being informed of the difficulty the order had to fit out a squadron for want of slaves, made the grand master a present of 250.

THEY build a seventh galley at Malta. 1652.

THE order makes a purchase of the isle of St. Christopher in America; for which they were obliged to the chevalier de Poincy. He commanded in that island; but the property of it was vested in a company of French merchants, under the protection of the crown of France. He had built a castle there, which he fortified like a citadel, and had several vessels for the defence of the island against the attempts of pirates. His enemies dreading his power, conspired to ruin him, or at least turn him out of his government. Our knight, having notice of their evil designs, writes to the grand master on that subject, and tells him that his effects

effects were very considerable, but that if he should die in the island, they would be seized on, either by the company of merchants or by his own enemies; and therefore he desired they would send him a knight or two to supply his place in case of his death, that the order might not be defrauded of what he left behind him. The grand master referred the care of this affair to brother Charles Huault de Montmagni receiver of the priory of France, giving him at the same time an express commission, as procurator general of the order, to go over to the isles of America that held of the crown of France, and a power of choosing some other knight to be his companion in the voyage, and supply his stead in case he died.

THE grand master did not stop here; but being fully satisfied of the good intentions of the chevalier de Poincy, who acted in all this affair only for the good of the order, he wrote to the bailiff de Souvré, his ambassador at the court of France, and directed him to use his endeavours with the king to gain two points that seemed to him to be of great importance; the first was to interpose his royal authority to put a stop to the enterprizes of Patrocles de Thoissy, the chief of the opposite party, and a mortal enemy to the commander de Poincy; the other article was to purchase the rights of the proprietors of the island, and to get if he could Gaudaloupe, Martinico, and other neighbouring isles, comprehended in the purchase.

THIS negotiation was carried on by the bailiff de Souvré with all imaginable dexterity, and the island of St. Christophers was sold to the order by a contract made at Paris, and ratified at Malta. This conveyance was made on two conditions; the first was, that the order should engage to pay all the debts which the company of merchants, who were the proprietors, owed to the inhabitants of the island; the second was, that they should pay the sellers the sum of 120,000 livres tournois. In this bargain was comprehended not only the property and lordship of St. Christophers, and the little neighbouring isles, as St. Bartholomew, St. Martin, St. Croix, and some others; but likewise

all the dwellings, lands, negroes, merchandize ammunition and provisions, which was afterwards confirmed by the letters patent of king Lewis XIV. granted at Paris in the month of March 1653. After this purchase, the grand master appointed the chevalier de Sales to assist with his council the chevalier de Poincy, who was very old, and who died soon afterwards. The knight, far from having any personal estate to enrich the order, left only behind him several debts, which he had contracted to support himself in his government.

THE gallies of the order join the Venetian fleet, and sail for Candia. Contagious distempers destroy abundance of the soldiers and crew of 1653. the Maltese Squadron: the general brings it back in a weak condition. In the midst of the channel of Malta, he meets three vessels of Tripoli: they cannonade one another. The Maltese general, not finding himself well enough manned to attempt to board them, sends to Malta for succours. The convent murmured exceedingly on this occasion, and said, that the general wanted courage more than force, and that it was the first time the gallies of the order had passed a whole day in cannonading the enemy's ships without laying them aboard; however, the grand master sent out several gallies, each manned with ten knights, a good number of soldiers and slaves. But there had risen a gale of wind in the night that was favourable to the infidels, who had made use of it to sail off; so that the next morning when they were preparing to attack them, they found them gone off clear, without their being able to guess which way they steered their course. The Squadron was obliged to return back into the harbour of Malta, to the great mortification of the grand master, who expected to see his great nephew that commanded the Squadron return back crowned with glory and victory.

A GREAT dispute happens at the entry of the emperor's ambassador at Madrid, about precedency, between Abbé Icontri the grand duke of Tuscany's em-

bassador, and the bailiff brother don Juan de Tordesillas, ambassador of the order. The grand duke's ambassador pretends to precede that of Malta, who opposes it with vigour, and presents a memorial to his Catholic majesty, wherein he shewed, that the ministers of the order of Malta, had, time out of mind, preceded all such as were not deputed by kings, and who were not allowed to enter when the kings of Spain went to mals. This dispute is decided in favour of the ambassador of Malta.

THE court of France is displeased at the grand master's conduct in having issued out orders by 1654. which the king's ships were denied the use of his ports. A French fleet being in the channel of Malta was attacked by a terrible storm, and offered to put into a port of the island for shelter. The grand master, who was afraid of incensing the Spaniards, refuses to let the king's ships come in, and fires upon them. The whole court exclaimed against the action, and called it high treason: and they talk of no less than seizing all the estates of the order within the kingdom, and uniting them to the demesnes. The grand master excuses himself on account of the engagements which his predecessors, with the consent of our kings, had entered into with Charles V. and sends the deed of conveyance of the isle of Malta to court; at last this affair is made up by the dexterity of the bailiff de Souvré, and the credit of M. de Lomenie secretary of state, one of whose sons had been admitted into the order a little before, though he was a minor, and the grand master afterwards by way of acknowledgement gave him the commandry of Rochelle.

THE Venetians prevent the Turks from coming out of the Dardanelles. This occasions an engagement, in which the infidels lose 14 vessels, 1655. seven of which were burnt, two stranded, and five taken.

FIVE galleys of the order, coming into the port of Genoa, and saluting only the town and the king of Spain's admiral, the Genoese order them to be attacked,

ed, the Genoese admiral pretending a right to be saluted as well as the rest. The knights refused it; whereupon the magistrates signify to the commodore, that they will fire upon his gallies, and sink them if he does not comply. The general of the gallies, to save his squadron, is forced to give them satisfaction.

As he goes out of the harbour, he meets a Genoese vessel, and sends to speak with her. Finding it was no more than a merchant ship, he only tears to pieces the flag, which had the arms of the republic on it, till such time as he might meet with and revenge the insult that had been offered him, upon some gallies or men of war.

A DECREE of the supreme council, declaring, that no Genoese shall be admitted into the order, till such time as satisfaction shall have been given for the violence which had been committed upon the squadron of the order.

THE Maltese squadron goes to join the Venetian fleet, which they meet at the mouth of the Dardanelles, consisting of 24 gallies, seven galleasses, and 28 large ships, under the command of Laurence Marcello. The grand seignior's armada, commanded by Sinan Bassa, advances to open the passage. A battle ensues between the two fleets; the Turks are defeated by the Christians, who gain a complete victory, and reduce the isle of Tenedos. But this advantage was bought dear by the death of the Venetian general, who was killed in the engagement by a cannon shot.

THE duke of Ossuna, viceroy of Sicily, dying about this time, the king of Spain appoints brother Martin de Redin, of the language of Arragon, to succeed him; he goes from Malta to Sicily to take possession of his new dignity.

THEY baptise at Malta the young Turk, supposed to be Ibrahim's son beforementioned, and Mehemet Binteifi, who passes for the son of the king of Fez and Morocco.

THE war of Candia may well enough be stiled the war of Malta, the order never failing to put  
 1657. every year a squadron to sea for the defence of that island. This year the gallies of the order joined the Venetian fleet, commanded by Lazaro Mocenigo a noble Venetian, in the channel of Jero. The chief design of the Turks was to recover the isle of Tenedos. With this view, Mehemet the grand visier kept a great body of troops near the Dardanelles ready to embark, in order to make a descent upon it. The Christian fleet coming near the place, and landing some troops to take in fresh water, the Turks attacked them, and fell with such fury on a German battalion, that not being able to sustain the charge, they fled, and, falling foul on the other battalions, threw all into disorder and confusion. The Turks pursued them to the sea-side, and cut a good number of them to pieces, among which was the chevalier de Tescan-cour.

THE Turkish fleet appears, consisting of 30 gallies, nine galeasses, and 18 ships, besides saicks and other small vessels. The commander of it had orders to sail out of the Dardanelles, and do all that lay in his power to recover the isle of Tenedos. The pope's gallies join the Christian fleet under the command of the prior de Bichi, to whom the Venetian general gives the precedence, on account of his representing the pope.

ANOTHER sea-engagement at the Dardanelles between the two fleets. The Turks are defeated. The Venetian general ascribes the victory to the naval skill and valour of the Maltese squadron, and sends a brigantine on purpose to congratulate him on this occasion. But the general, desirous of burning some Turkish gallies, which had retired under the cannon of the fortresses, and advancing too far, a ball from one of the castles set fire to the St. Barbe, which was boarded by the Venetian admiral, and blew it up. The general lost his life; and of 700 men that were on board, there were but 250 saved by the Christian saicks that hastened to their succour. The confederate fleet separates,  
 the

the Maltese and the pope's galleys return towards the west, and the Venetians not being now strong enough to fight the Turkish fleet, the infidels besiege and retake Tenedos.

DEATH of the grand master Lascaris, in the 97th year of his age. The bailiff Lascaris his great nephew erected a fine monument for him in the chapel of the language of Provence, in the church of the priory of St. John, on which the following epitaph is engraved.

D. O. M.

“ Hic jacet frater Joannes Paulus de Lascaris Castelard  
 “ M. magister & Melitæ princeps, qui nascendo ab im-  
 “ peratoribus & comitibus Vintimiliæ accepit nobilita-  
 “ tem, vivendo in consiliis & legationibus fecit amplifi-  
 “ simam, & moriendo inter omnium lacrymas reddidit  
 “ immortalem. Regnavit annos XXI. inter principes  
 “ fortunatus, erga subditos pater patriæ, erga religio-  
 “ nem bene-merentissimus, septima triremi quam annuis  
 “ redditibus stabilivit, nova commenda quam instituit,  
 “ aliis atque aliis ædificiis quæ construxit, tot terrâ  
 “ marique victoriis omnibus celebris, soli Deo semper  
 “ affixus, obiit die decimâ quartâ Augusti, anno Domini  
 “ 1657, ætatis suæ 97.”

AFTER paying the last duties to the grand master, the convent was to proceed to the choice of a successor. There were two potent and formidable factions at Malta. Martin de Redin, prior of Navarre and viceroy of Sicily, was at the head of the first; and in his absence the commander don Antonio Correa Sousa his intimate friend had the management of his party. But there was another party formed called the flying squadron, consisting of old commanders and great crosses, who had been principally concerned in the government under the preceeding reign; the inquisitor of Malta, Redin's enemy, was at the head of this cabal. He, in order to ruin the opposite party, presented a brief from the pope dated the 9th of December 1656,

in which his holiness ordered him, in case of the death of the grand master Lascaris, to declare all such knights deprived of either active or passive voice, as should be convicted of having caballed or employed money, promises or threats for the election or exclusion of any person whatsoever; every such person the pope interdicted from a right of voting, as being a wicked and simoniacal person.

THE inquisitor proposed by this declaration to make Redin's election miscarry; but it had a quite contrary effect. The knights of his party imagined themselves after this obliged in honour to persist in their first disposition. Notwithstanding all the declarations of the inquisitor, who signified by his secretary, that Martin de Redin prior of Navarre was excluded from the election, as being an ambitious person, who had employed unworthy expedients to advance himself to the grand mastership, this nobleman had a MARTIN majority of votes, and accordingly was DE REDIN. proclaimed grand master. Odi, in a rage entered protests against it. REDIN, to elude the effects of it, sent the pope an authentic account of his election, declaring to him at the same time, that if his holiness had any exceptions to his person, he was ready to renounce it. The pope, who did not care to be subservient to the passion of his officer, and was vexed that he had employed his authority in opposing a knight that was a minister of the king of Spain, and the opinion of the greatest part of the knights who esteemed him, readily approved the grand master's election. He drew up a brief for that purpose, and sent it to the inquisitor with orders to carry it himself, and declare to the council, that his holiness acknowledged Redin for the lawful prince of Malta. Thus the very person who had opposed his election with the greatest fury and passion, had the mortification to be as it were the herald to proclaim it. The prior de Bichi, nephew to the pope, and general of his galleys, came to Malta, where he waited upon the grand master, who conferred upon him the rich commandry of Polizzi in Sicily.

Sicily. And this nobleman, who was the favourite nephew of his holiness, having joined his galleys to those of the order, the grand master, before he went out of the harbour, made him a present of a cross set with diamonds, valued at 1200 crowns.

THE grand master's first care was to provide for the security of the island, and to prevent the infidels from making descents, especially in the night-time. For this end, he built towers all along the coast at proper distances for the peasants of each quarter of the country who mounted the guard to retire to, and made a fund out of his own purse for the subsistence of such as should be employed in this service, and keep watch in the night-time.

THE pope recalls the inquisitor Odi, and Casanatta is put in his stead. The grand master orders, that whenever a knight who hath only the little cross, is invested with the character of an ambassador, if there should happen to be any knights who are great crosses in the same court, they shall be obliged, for the honour of the order, to attend and wait upon him in all his functions.

THE richest commandries become successively the prey of the pope's nephews. Alexander VII. gives the commandry of Bologna to Sigismund Chigi, and divides that of Frano into three commandries, giving the best of them to Charles Chigi.

THE commander de Mandolx is appointed a second time general of the galleys: he puts to sea with his squadron to join that of the pope: he meets 1659. near Augusta with two brigantines of Barbary, which he takes, and the infidels that were on board them serve to recruit his crew of galley-slaves which was very much weakened. The two squadrons join, and receive, in an island of the Archipelago, a letter from the Venetian general, with advice that the grand seignior's fleet was retired into the harbour of Rhodes, but was immediately to set sail from thence to go to Constantinople, and that if they would come up and join the main fleet, they would have an opportunity of fighting

fighting the infidels, and sharing with him in the glory of their defeat. The two squadrons sailing on, chace three Turkish galliots in their way. One of the three escapes by rowing vigorously ; the two others run aground, and one of them is taken. The pope's general seizes upon it, and will needs carry it to Civita-Vecchia, to shew his master that he had been in sight of the enemy. He declares to the general of the order, that he is resolved to return westward. This resolution of retiring surprised Mandolx exceedingly, who could not comprehend the reason of it, and who thereupon broke out into the most heavy complaints upon that account, and indeed in very harsh terms. But nothing could prevail upon the prior of Bichi, who was obstinately resolved to go : the Maltese general does not think proper to separate from him, for fear of exposing the pope's squadron to be attacked by the infidels ; so both squadrons steer back to the west, and retire into their respective ports.

THE year following was famous for the peace between the two crowns of France and Spain, to 1660. the inexpressible satisfaction of the grand master and the whole order, who now saw themselves enabled to observe that neutrality between Christian princes, which the order had always professed ever since its foundation.

THE grand master, after having suffered the most racking pains from a stone of four ounces weight, died on the 6th February. His epitaph mentions his services, and contains an account of the several dignities he had filled up.

#### D. O. M.

“ *Æternæ memoriæ sacrum M. magistri D. de Redin*  
 “ *magni Xaverii ob genus propinqui, cujus ante æta-*  
 “ *tem præmatura virtus Siculæ, deinde Neapolitanæ*  
 “ *classium præfecturam meruit. Adultus ad summum*  
 “ *Pontificem & Hispaniarum regem legatus profectus,*  
 “ *exercitus regios apud Catalaunos & Calicos, cæteros-*  
 “ *que Hispaniæ populos, summo cum imperio, rexit, in-*  
 “ *de*

“ de victoriis, meritis atque annis auctus, ex priore Navarræ atque Siciliæ prorege princeps Melitæ electus, insulam propugnaculis ac turritis speculis, urbes aggeribus, horreis annonâ ac vario belli commeatu institutis munivit. Ducis Bulloni exemplum secutus, expeditionis Hierosolymitanæ principibus Europæ se ultrò vel ducem vel comitem obtulit. Obiit die sexta Februarii 1660, ætatis 70, imperii tertio.

AFTER the grand master's funeral, the convent met, as usual, to proceed to the choice of his successor. The one and twenty electors, having duly weighed the merit and capacity of the candidates, agreed unanimously in the election of brother ANNET de Clermont de Chattes Gesson, DE CLERMONT. bailiff of Lyons ; and the electing knight proclaimed him grand master of the order of St. John of Jerusalem. Two days after, the council acknowledged him as sovereign prince of the isles of Malta and Goza.

THIS title of sovereign, which reflects an honour upon the families of the knights who are advanced to the grand mastership, was nothing extraordinary in the illustrious house of Clermont. Their ancestors, before the treaty made A. D. 1340, between Humbert Dauphin and Ainard de Clermont, enjoyed all the rights of sovereignty in the dominions they possessed between Dauphiny and Savoy. We find in history, that the viscounts of Clermont levied troops, made war, alliances and treaties, and laid what taxes they pleased on their subjects before the treaty of 1340. These viscounts always kept strong garrisons in the towns and castles of Chavacert and Saussin ; places which, at that time, were looked upon as impregnable, and lay both of them upon the river Gué, which divides Savoy from the territories that belonged to the lords of Clermont.

ANNET de Clermont rose to the grand mastership purely by his virtues. His courage, his piety, a distinguishing zeal for religion, his good nature and humanity

manity in all his actions, and a most engaging and obliging manner of receiving people, made all the knights wish for the long continuance of his reign : but providence disposed otherways of him. This great man, who seemed to be born to make his order happy, fell sick three months after his election. Some wounds, which he had received at the siege and taking of Mahometa in Barbary, bleeding afresh, put an end to his life in the 73d year of his age : he died in the arms of his knights, to their great affliction. His epitaph contains his character, and the principal actions of his life.

### D. O. M.

“ Hic jacet emin. Frater Annetus de Chattes-  
 “ Gessan, qui à comitibus Clarimontis ortum accepit,  
 “ à pontificibus sacras claves & tiaram utramque per  
 “ majores in Calisto 2. sedis apostolicæ acerrimos de-  
 “ fensores. Hoc uno verè majorum omnium maximus  
 “ quod tiaræ supremam coronam adjunxit, creatus ne-  
 “ mine discrepante ex bajulivo Lugduni mag. magister  
 “ & Melitæ princeps. Eum apicem merita jampridem  
 “ exegerant, vota nunquam præsumpserant ; sed vir-  
 “ tutes tulerunt suffragium, pietas in divinis, pruden-  
 “ tia in humanis, suavitas in congressu, majestas in in-  
 “ cessu, marescalli integritas, terræ marisque imperi-  
 “ um ; de suo nihil ipse contulit, nisi quod amicis o-  
 “ bedivit. Regnavit ad perennem memoriam vix  
 “ quatuor mensibus : brevis vitæ nulla pars periit :  
 “ primam religioni, secundam populo, tertiam sibi,  
 “ omnem Deo consecravit. Obiit inter lacrymas et  
 “ vota omnium, die secunda Junii 1660, ætatis suæ sep-  
 “ tuagesimo tertio.”

Two days after they had paid the last office to the grand master de Chattes-Gessan, the chevalier d'Arseville, of the language of Auvergne, grand marshal of the order, and whom the late grand master, a few days before his death, had nominated to the post of lieutenant-general to the mastership, called a general  
 assembly

assembly for the election of a new grand master. After the preliminary ceremonies used on such occasions, the languages retired into their respective chapels, to chuse the three persons who were to vote in the election of a grand master, and to pitch upon a fourth voice which was to represent the knights of the language of England.

1. THERE were in the language of Castile and Portugal, thirty-two persons that had voices, who elected the chevalier de Ximenes, the great chancellor, Hozes, bailiff of Lora, Barriga, the vice-chancellor; and for the language of England, they named the commander Xelder.

2. THE language of Arragon, in which Catalonia and Navarre are comprehended, had thirty-five persons that had votes, who elected Bucno, prior of the church, Galdian, prior of Armenia, Raphael Cotoner, administrator of the bailiwick of Majorca; and for England they chose Nicholas Cotoner, brother to Raphael.

3. GERMANY had not above twelve persons that had votes in the convent, and their choice fell upon the grand bailiff of Breslaw, Osterhaussen, grand prior of Denmark, and the commander Osotiski; and for England, they pitched upon the commander de la Tour.

4. THERE were seventy-eight persons that had votes in the language of Italy, who named Sfondrati, bailiff of St. Euphemia, Bondinelli, prior of Aquila, with the prior of Rochelle; and for England, Tancred bailiff of Venusia.

5. FRANCE had fifty-six persons that had votes, who elected Valençai, grand prior of Champagne, Anthony de Conflans, lieutenant to the grand hospitaller, and the commander Gilbert d'Elbene; and for England they named Joachim de Callemaison.

6. THERE were eighty-nine knights that had votes in the language of Provence, who chose Monmejan a great commander, Polastron la Hilliere, prior of Toulouse, saint Marc, bailiff of Manosque; and for England the bailiff de Mandolx.

7. AUVERGNE staid in the nave of the church, near the person of the marshal d'Arfevilliere, on account of his post of lieutenant of the mastership. There were thirty-five votes in this language, who named the marshal de l'Arfevilliere, Gerlande, bailiff of Lyons, with the commander de l'Arfevilliere, brother to the lieutenant ; and for England, the commander de la Roche.

INTRIGUE and cabal prevailed very much in this election ; and the commander de Valençay, who secretly aspired to this dignity, even during the lifetime of the last grand master, thought himself sure of nine votes. But when the election came on, there were several other old commanders who put up as candidates, particularly the marshal de Arfevilliere, Raphael Cottoner, Monmejan, St. Mark, and Hozes above mentioned, who, though they had their several parties, yet all agreed to exclude Valençay, whose party seemed the most numerous and formidable.

VALENÇAY, to weaken this cabal, pretended to give up his hopes and pretensions, and accordingly told the principal leaders of the opposite party severally, that he and his nine friends would readily join in their election ; which put them upon their guard against one another : but Bueno, prior of the church, found out the artifice, and assured them that Valençay designed only to disunite them with his insidious promises ; and that therefore, in order to shew him they were not to be imposed on, and to exclude him entirely, they should all of them by concert compromise their votes, and leave it entirely to some one of their party to dispose of them, taking an oath to concur *bona fide* in the election of such person among their number as he should judge most deserving of the post of grand master. Twelve old commanders or great crosses came into the proposal, and agreed in naming the great commander Monmejan, a knight highly esteemed for his probity, to be the person to whom they would refer the disposal of their votes. He was far from imitating the grand master de Gozon on the like occasion

occasion and naming himself, but declared in the assembly, that he thought they could not make a better choice than of the person of Raphael de Cotoner, bailiff of Majorca.

THESE twelve electors, concurring with the nine of Valençay's party, chose three others out of those that had been named for the language of England, who were the bailiff de Mondolx, Tancered bailiff of Venusia, and Nicholas Cotoner bailiff of Negrepont. These twenty-four electors chose brother John Diodati, prior of Venice, to be president of the election, the commander brother Denis Ceba, of the language of Italy, to be electing knight, the commander brother Francis Deidié for chaplain of the election, and the commander brother Michael Porruel, of the language of Arragon, for serving brother of the election. This election put an end to that of the twenty-four, and these last having all the power lodged in themselves, chose thirteen new electors, which, with them three, made up the number of sixteen, who were to have the final nomination of the grand master.

1. BARRIGA, of the language of Castile and Portugal, vice-chancellor of the order, was the first person elected.

2. THE commander brother Anthony de Glandeve Castelet, of the language of Provence, chose for the language of England.

3. THE commander brother Adrian de Contremolins, of the language of France.

4. THE commander brother Lewis de Fay Gerlande, of the language of Auvergne.

5. THE commander brother Adolfe Frederick de Reede, of the language of Germany.

6. THE commander brother Henry de Villeneuve Torenque, of the language of Provence.

7. THE commander brother John de Forsat, of the language of Auvergne.

8. THE commander brother Henry de la Salle, of the language of France.

9. THE commander brother Francis Ricafoli, of the language of Italy.

10. THE commander brother Isidore d'Argai, of the language of Arragon.

11. THE commander brother don Antonio Correa de Soura, of the language of Castile and Portugal, for England.

12. THE commander brother Francis Wratislau, of the language of Germany.

13. THE commander don Lewis Kelder, of the language of Castile and Portugal.

THE sixteen electors, after taking the usual oaths, and shutting themselves up in the conclave, directed the electing knight to go up into the gallery which

looks into the church, and proclaim that  
RAPHAEL they had chose brother DON RAPHA-  
COTONER. EL COTONER, bailiff of Majorca,

[1660. to be their grand master. Immediately

June 16. Te Deum was sung by way of thanksgiving; and all the knights came afterwards to kiss his hand, and take the oath of obedience, and the next day the council gave him the title of sovereign prince of the isles of Malta and Goza.

WE observed, under the year 1645, that the Turks, after having threatened the isle of Malta with a sudden invasion, fell with all their force upon that of Candia, which belonged to the state of Venice. St. Theodora was the first place they attacked. They carried it without any great resistance, and put all the garrison to the sword. They next invested Canea, both by sea and land, and took it after a bloody siege, which lasted forty days. The governor surrendered upon honourable terms; and the infidels were very punctual in keeping the articles of the capitulation.

THE year following, the Venetian, the Maltese, and the pope's gallies, landed a considerable body of troops, under the command of the duke de la Valette. This general. intended to retake Canea, and invested it; but the Turks came with a considerable body of troops  
and

and forced him to raise the siege. They afterwards took Rhetimo, Muscava, Melo-potamo and Calaino. Their principal design was to besiege the capital of the island; but as they were sensible the place was fortified both by art and nature, and that there was a garrison in it numerous enough for an army, they only built a fort to hinder their incursions, and to block up the place. This fort they called New Candia, and furnished it with a garrison of 6000 men.

THE two parties carried on the war for several years with various success. The Venetians, finding themselves pressed by the formidable power of the Turks, applied to most of the European princes for succour; pope Alexander VII. and Raphael Cottoner, grand master of Malta, sent them their gallies. Lewis XIV. king of France, sent them also 3600 men, under the command of a prince of the house of Est. But this prince being ready to embark, the commander de Gremonville, of an illustrious family in Normandy, whom the king named for the prince of Est's lieutenant, and the chevalier Paul, a serving brother, and one of the ablest sea-officers in Europe, were appointed to carry over the troops.

THE duke of Savoy sent two regiments of foot of 500 men each. The Genoese offered a considerable succour of men and money, provided the Venetians would treat them as their equals. But as those two republics had, time out of mind, fought against one another to determine that nice dispute, the Venetians were so jealous of their superiority, that they refused to accept the Genoese reinforcement upon that condition.

THE design of the Christian generals was to recover the town of Canea; but not having troops enough to besiege it in form, and to hinder the infidels from throwing succours into it, they resolved to take some forts that were in the hands of the Turks, and to lay in the neighbourhood of Suda. Their first attempt was upon the post of Sancta Veneranda, which the infantry took by storm. The Turks, at the noise of this

attack, advanced that way, and came to an engagement with the battalion of Malta, which repulsed, and put them to flight. They next took Calogero, which the Turks abandoned; and Calami, which took them up no more time than was necessary to adjust the capitulation. Apricorno made a better defence: it was a place of difficult access, by reason of a narrow way which they must necessarily pass through, and which the Turks had, in a manner, stopped up, with a prodigious number of trees they had felled for that purpose. Some squadrons of their troops sallied out of the place to reconnoitre the forces of the Christians. Garenne, a French officer, at the head of two squadrons, charged them briskly, and put them to flight. But some Turks observing, that he, in his eagerness to pursue them, had advanced a considerable way before his main body, they turned short upon him, and struck off his head at once with a sabre. The campaign ended with different success on both sides. The Christians, who beat and were beaten on several occasions, retired to Cicalaria, a place covered on one side with inaccessible mountains, and on the other by a wood; and the Turks encamp at Maleta.

THE 24th of January, of the following year, the general of the galleys of the order met a vessel  
1661. of Tunis off of cape Passaro in Sicily, which he took. He made, on this occasion, 130 slaves, among whom was the cadi dey of Tunis's son, and a choaux of the grand seignior's, who had been carrying his orders to Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, and other places on the coast of Barbary. Gravié, a serving brother, as he was cruising near Tripoli, took soon afterwards another ship of the infidels, with 150 Janizaries on board, designed to reinforce the garrison of Gigibarta, a fortress of Barbary.

TOWARDS the middle of April, brother Paul, a serving brother, entered the port of Malta, with three of the king of France's galleys, and the grand master sent him a compliment by his seneschal. As soon as he landed, he went up to the palace to pay his duty to him,

him, as to his superior ; and the grand master received him with great demonstrations of kindness, omitting no testimony of that regard which he thought due to the merit and valour of a person, who had raised himself from a private sea-officer, to the post of lieutenant to the lord high admiral of France.

THOUGH the grand master was at a very great expence in sending considerable succours to Candia, nevertheless, by his good management, there was no want of funds for other purposes ; of which he did not fail to make a worthy use, suitable to his natural generosity, and the magnificence of a great prince. He employed part of them this year in enlarging the infirmary ; and, at the same time, beautified the church of the priory of St. John with excellent paintings and pictures of devotion, which still remain in that church as a perpetual monument of his piety. In the mean time, the gallies of the order, putting to sea, joined the pope's squadron, which was commanded by the prior de Bichy, near Augusta ; sailing afterwards into the Archipelago, they met the Venetian fleet near the isle of Andros, and went together in quest of that of the Turks. They scoured all the seas thereabouts ; but having no manner of news of it, the allies separated in order to return home. The Maltese gallies, keeping on their course, met, off the coast of Calabria, two Barbary gallies of fourteen benches each, which the knights took after a slight resistance. This is reckoned to be the year when the senate of Venice, in consideration of the continual services which the republic received from the order, made a decree, by which the knights of Malta were allowed to wear their arms at Venice, and all other places within their territories : a privilege that was not indulged the natural subjects of the state.

IN the beginning of the year 1663, the doge used great instances with the grand master to send out the gallies of the order. Cotoner thought 1663. at first that he, out of respect to the holy see, ought to wait for the pope's squadron ; but having advice that his holiness kept them at Civita-Vecchia,

through the apprehensions he was under of his most Christian majesty's just resentment for the insult which had been offered the embassador of France and his lady by the pope's guard of Corsi, the gallies of the order put to sea on the 15th of May, under the command of the commander de Bressaw, and sailed for the Levant. After some prizes of small consequence, which the general of the gallies sent to Malta, he joined the Venetian fleet upon the 22d of the same month, near the isle of Andro. George Morosini, a noble Venetian, was the admiral of it, who told him that the Turks had fitted out no fleet this year, and that therefore he should employ the forces of the allies in cruising at sea, and scouring the coasts of the infidels.

THE grand master Cotoner dies of a malignant and contagious fever, which ran over the whole island, and was particularly rife in the city of la Valette. He was a prince truly worthy of his dignity, prudent in his conduct, pious in his sentiments, magnificent in his way of living, and without any view but the defence of the Christians, the service and happiness of his knights, and the honour of his order. The knights of his language erected a fine monument for him in the chapel of Arragon, and put over him the following epitaph.

Arragonum quicunque teris Melitense sacellum,  
 Sacraque signa vides, siste viator iter.  
 Hic ille est primus Cotonera è stirpe magister,  
 Hic ille est Raphaël, conditus ante diem.  
 Talis erat cervix Melitensi digna corona :  
 Tale fuit bello consiliisque caput.  
 Cura, fides, pietas, genius, prudentia, robur,  
 Tot dederant vitæ pignora cara suæ,  
 Ut dum cœlestes citius raperetur ad arces,  
 Ordinis hæc fuerit mors properata dolor.  
 Qui ne mutatas regni sentiret habenas,  
 Germano rerum fræna regenda dedit.  
 Cætera ne quæras, primus de stirpe secundum  
 Promeruit : satis hoc, perge viator iter.

ON the 23d of October, Bandinelli, prior of Aquila, whom the grand master, a few days before his death, had named lieutenant of the mastership, called a general assembly of the convent for the election of a new grand master: there were in it at this time 293 persons who had votes. After the preliminary ceremonies, a circumstance happened in this which never happened before in any former election, which was, that the grand master's brother was chosen his successor. For though there were not wanting in the order, and even at Malta, several persons that might justly pretend to this dignity, and who were admirably well qualified for it, yet the merit of the two brothers was so generally known, that as soon as ever the eldest expired, there was an unanimous concurrence of all the voices, of people as well as knights, even before the election came on, in favour of brother NICHOLAS COTONER, bailiff of Majorca; so that all the electors, the twenty-one as well as the sixteen, went into the conclave for form's sake only, to keep to the letter of the statutes, and immediately afterwards brother don Emmanuel Arrias, vice-chancellor of the order, who was chose the electing knight, proclaimed him grand master: and the next day he was declared in full council sovereign of the isles of Malta and Goza.

NICHOLAS  
COTONER.

THE corsairs of Barbary, having carried their Piracies as far as the coast of Provence, Lewis the XIV. to repress their insolence, was advised to settle a colony on the coast of Barbary. 1664. and to build a fortress, with a port well fortified, for the security of his ships, and situated so as to be able to give advice from time to time when any squadrons of the infidels should put to sea. The village of Gigeri was proposed to him for this purpose, which lies near the sea between the towns of Algiers and Bugia, fifteen miles from both of them. Near this village there was an old castle built on the top of a mountain and almost inaccessible. The king appointed the duke of Beaufort great admiral of France, to put this project in execution,

ecution, and desired the grand master to send the gallees of the order to his assistance. He did so; and accordingly the Maltese Squadron joined the king's fleet in Port-Mahon. The Christians landed their troops without opposition, and immediately set to work in laying the foundations of the fort which they had orders to build. The Moors, alarmed at an enterprise which tended to reduce them under subjection, ran to arms, and with their artillery demolished the works that had been begun. The duke of Beaufort detached part of his cavalry to repulse the enemy; but as this body had no infantry to sustain them, and the Moors had notice by their spies that the French were but few in number, they broke into the village sabre in hand, and forced the French to retire to the sea-side. The duke of Beaufort finding he was not able to stand his ground in that country, resolved to embark, but could not do it secretly enough to hinder the Moors from getting notice of it: so that the rear, consisting of 400 men, were most of them either killed or taken prisoners. To make the misfortune still greater, one of the king's ships, called the Moon, which was old, and had ten troops of horse on board, was cast away seven leagues from Toulon; so that this expedition did not prove more successful than that of the emperor Charles V. at the siege of Algiers.

THE continuation of the affair of the commander de Poincy in relation to the isle of St. Christo-  
 1665. phers, which the order sells to a company of French merchants, who make a settlement there under the king's protection.

THIS year the Squadron of the order scoured all the seas of the Archipelago, but took no prizes except a few felucca's laden with corn and merchandize belonging to some Turkish traders. Two vessels commanded by the chevaliers de Crainville and de Temericours were more successful. De Crainville was on board a ship of 40 guns, called the Garden of Holland, which he had taken the year before from an Algerine corsair, though he had only a frigate of 22 guns, on board of which now was Temericours, a young knight of great  
 courage,

courage, who had already signalized himself on several occasions. These two knights, who were intimate friends, roved in concert over all the seas of the Levant; and in the channel of the isle of Samos they met a caravan going from Alexandria to Constantinople, composed of ten ships and twelve saicks. The number and strength of the enemy served only to inflame the courage of the two knights; they rushed into the middle of this little fleet, sunk some vessels, took four of the richest, with two small ones, and put the rest to flight.

THE same year was famous for an action which will immortalize the memory of the chevalier d'Hoquincourt. This gallant commander was in the port of the isle Dauphine, when he was suddenly invested by 33 of the grand seignior's gallies that were carrying troops to the isle of Candia. The admiral that commanded the fleet landed all his best arquebusiers, who made a continual fire upon the Maltese vessel, at the same time that the Turkish gallies cannonaded it with all their artillery. The infidels, after mauling the tackling of the vessel, advanced to board it; some attack it at the poop, as others do at the prow. The knight makes head on all sides, as if he had been invulnerable, though his vessel was hurt in several places, and he had lost abundance of soldiers, he yet cleared it of all the Turks that offered to board him, and threw them headlong into the sea. The Turkish general, in a rage at this obstinate resistance, and ashamed of the little success of his gallies in close fight, ordered them to open their ranks, and leave him a passage to come up with the vessel himself. At the same time his crew plied their oars, and vigorously pushed forward the admiral galley; but the effort he made threw the Maltese vessel clear out of the port, and, a favourable gale springing up, d'Hoquincourt got to the first Christian port, after sinking several gallies of the Turks, and killing them above 600 soldiers.

AN action of such distinguished valour and resolution deserved a better fate than this gallant knight met with  
a little

a little after. For he, this very campaign, being on board the same vessel, a sudden gust of wind dashed him against a rock near the isle of Scarpanta. The vessel was shattered to pieces, and the knight was drowned; and the chevalier de Grilles, his particular friend, and 170 soldiers or mariners, perished in this shipwreck.

THE duke of Beaufort great admiral of France, as he is in chace of some corsairs of Barbary, arrives in the harbour of Malta; he is saluted by all the cannon of the ports, but would not see the grand master, who refused to give him the title of highness. A little after M. de la Haye the French ambassador to the porte, passed likewise, and put in at Malta.

DEATH of Philip of Austria, the fourth of the name, king of Spain, who is succeeded by 1666. don Carlos his son. This change of sovereign occasions a new investiture, which the commander Galdian, general of the gallies, receives in the name of the order from the duke of Sermonetta viceroy of Sicily, and takes the oath of fidelity usual in such ceremonies.

THE commander d'Elbene, general of the gallies, comes with his squadron to Barcelona to convoy the empress who was going to the emperor, to whom she was married by proxy. This princess, after her landing at Final, wrote a very obliging letter to the grand master, to thank him for the good offices she had received from the general of the gallies.

THE pope makes three great crosses, the first of whom was one of his nephews, and the other two were considerable officers in his palace.

THE grand visier Achmet comes with a considerable body of troops into Candia, to put an end to the war and siege of the capital of the island. The Venetians apply as usual to the pope and the grand master; whose squadrons join near Augusta, and sail from thence to the coasts of Candia, and the isle of Standia. Francis Morosini, a noble Venetian, was generalissimo of all the Christian army, Antonio Barbaro, another noble

noble Venetian, was governor of the town, and the marquis de Ville, a Piedmontese, was commander of the troops in garrison, all generals of extraordinary valour; and though emulation made them enemies, and jealous of one another's glory, they yet made a gallant defence.

DEATH of Alexander VII. who is succeeded by Clement IX.

CLEMENT, pursuant to the possession with which his predecessors had invested themselves, names the chevalier brother Vincent Rospigliosi his nephew to the bailiwick of St. Euphemia, vacant by the death of brother Philip Sfondrati. This renews the uneasiness and complaints of the language of Italy, which was continually plundered and stripped of its rights by these papal nominations.

ARTICLES of agreement between the landgrave of Hesse cardinal and grand-prior of Germany, and John de Witte chancellor and pensioner 1668. of the province of Holland, with respect to some estates of the order depending on the commandry of Harlem in that province, which the magistrates had seized on. By this treaty, in which the protection of his most Christian majesty, and the negotiation of the Comte d'Elstrades, were of great service, the Dutch engage to pay 150.000 florins to the order, to indemnify them for the estates which they had seized on in the provinces of Holland and West-Frizeland; and the order, in consideration of this sum, renounced all their right to those estates, saving still to themselves their right to all the estates to which they had a title in the other provinces, with full liberty to sue for their restitution, or get at least an equivalent for them.

THE marquis de Ville, general of the land forces in the isle of Candia, quits the Venetian service, out of disgust of the ill treatment he met with from general Morosini. The Venetian ambassador, with the king's leave, proposes to the marquis St. André Montbrun to go over to Candia to command in the same quality. The honour of defending a place, for whose preservation

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tion all the princes of Christendom interested themselves, determines the marquis of St. André to accept the command. He sets out post and goes to Venice, where he embarks, and lands at the port of Trainate in the island of Candia on the 21st of June.

GENERAL Morosini gains a victory over the Turks at sea.

A STRONG succour of French troops arrives in Candia, consisting of 7000 men, under the command of the duke de Navailles. The duke of Beaufort great admiral of France commanded the fleet.

THE count of St. Paul brother to the duke of Longueville was at the head of the volunteers, 1669. among whom were the duke of Chateau-Thierry, brother to the duke of Bouillon, the duke of Roannez, and the comte de la Feuillade.

THE order, ever zealous for the defence of the Christians, sends a battalion of 400 men into Candia, under the command of brother Hector de Fay la Tour Mauburg.

THE count of St. Paul, at his return from Candia, touches at Malta, where he is received with great honours, after having performed quarantine in an house situated at the Bormole.

THE duke of Navailles, when the time fixed by his instructions is expired, returns back into France.

THE Maltese battalion, after losing abundance of men, think of retiring from a place which in a few days consumed all the succours that arrived from abroad.

A FLEET of 40 ships arrives in Candia with a new reinforcement of 4500 men, most of them Germans, among whom were 400 vassals of the duke of Brunswick. Besides this reinforcement, count Waldeck arrives there at the head of 300 men; and the grand master of the Teutonic order sends a chosen band of 150 men well provided, besides several noblemen of different countries who came as volunteers, and fought under the banner of the order.

THE fleur de Temericourt, eldest brother to the chevalier of that name, cruising at sea under the flag of Malta, took a Turkish ship of 40 guns near the isle Scarpante, commanded by the corsair Buba Affan. He manned it anew, and in company with another vessel commanded by the chevalier de la Barre, sailed into the seas of Alexandria, where descrying two sultanas laden with merchandize, he advanced to get between them and the harbour. As his vessel was a better sailer than his consort, he fell upon the sultana which was the farthest advanced, and, after pouring in a broadside, prepared to board her, when he received a musket-shot on the head that knocked him down upon the deck, which however did not hinder him from exhorting his officers and soldiers to continue the engagement. The infidels, seeing it would be impossible for them to escape from the Christians who had grappled the two ships together, desperately set fire to the vessel in order to make their enemies perish with them. The chevalier de la Barre, who was on the point of taking the second sultana, seeing the danger his friend was in, quits the sultana, runs to his succour, and clears him of the vessel that was on fire. But Temericourt did not live to enjoy his victory, he dying the next day of his wound; and the sultana, which la Barre was just upon the point of taking, made off whilst he was employed in assisting his friend, and got into the port of Alexandria.

THE grand master and the council send the commander brother Antonio Correa de Sousa, the grand master's gentleman of the horse, as their 1670. ambassador into Portugal, to compliment don Pedro brother to don Alphonso king of Portugal, upon his marriage with the queen his brother's wife, and his taking upon him the regency of the kingdom. He was ordered at the same time to demand back the grand priory of Crato, vacant by the death of cardinal don Ferdinand infante of Spain. But as the ministry of Portugal had got that rich benefice into their hands, they persuaded the regent, that the nomination and patronage of it was lodged in the crown, and there-

fore all the answer he gave was, that the clearing up of that affair demanded some time. However at last he gave up the priory to brother don John de Sousa, who had a true right and title to it by a particular grant from the convent.

THE reducing of the isle of Candia, and the peace which the Venetians had concluded with the Turks, make the grand master apprehensive that they would now turn their arms against Malta. To put the island in a condition of baffling all their efforts, he, in conjunction with the council, applies to the duke of Savoy, desiring of him an excellent engineer, Valpergo by name, who comes by his orders to Malta, and gives directions for the raising of new fortifications. The first was named the Cotonera. The next thing was to add new works to the Floriana, with a fausse-braye and two bulwarks, one on the side of port Meczet, and the other towards the great port : and in order that the entrance of the great port might be completely defended, they built a royal port, called Ricafoli, from the name of a commander who gave the order 30,000 crowns for that work.

DEATH of pope Clement IX. who is succeeded by Clement X. This pontiff writes a brief to 1671. the grand master to congratulate him upon the pains he took of fortifying an island which served for a bulwark to all the dominions of the Christian princes.

THE chevalier de Vendosme, in spite of all the opposition of the old knights, prevails with the pope to grant him an expectative grace upon the grand priory of France. This brief was at last registered in the chancery of the order, but upon condition that the new grand prior should make good the mortuary and profits arising from the vacancy to the order.

PRINCE Charles of Lorrain, son to the duke d'Elbæuf, and Maurice de la Tour d'Auvergne duke of Chateau Thierry, son to the duke of Bouillon, are received into the order.

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THE grand master and council finding the number of serving brothers too great, make a regulation, forbidding the reception of any more for the future, till such time as new orders should be issued out for that purpose.

ROME labours under a great dearth of corn: the pope sends over all Italy to get a supply; and cardinal Altieri his nephew writes to the 1672. grand master in his holiness's name, and desires him to send the squadron of the order to convoy his ships. Orders were accordingly dispatched without loss of time for that purpose to the bailiff de Harcourt, of the house of Lorrain, general of the gallies, and to the chevalier de Fovelle Ecrainville, who commanded the admiral-galley.

THE chevalier de Temericourt, a famous corsair, is attacked by five great vessels of Tripoli: he defends himself with so much courage and intrepidity, that after shooting the masts of two of them by the board, and killing abundance of their men, the infidels, despairing to take him, tacked about, and left him at liberty to keep on his way: but he was soon after caught in a dreadful storm, which drove him upon the coast of Barbary, where his vessel was cast away, and he himself was taken by the Moors, who carried him to Tripoli, and from thence to Adrianople. Mahomet IV. who was there at that time, asked him if he was the person that with a single vessel had fought five of the largest of those of Tripoli. " 'Twas myself, replied the knight. What countryman are you, said the sultan? A Frenchman, replied Temericourt. You are a deserter then, said Mahomet, for I am in strict peace with the king of France. I am a Frenchman, says Temericourt to him; but, besides that quality, I am likewise a knight of Malta; a profession which obliges me to expose my life against all the enemies of the Christian faith." The grand seignior, desiring to get him into his service, sent him at first to a prison, where he was treated with great humanity, and made him all those advantageous offers

that might possibly tempt a young warrior who was but 22 years old; and, to encourage him to change his religion, he promised to marry him to a princess of his blood, and to make him a *bascha*, or his great admiral. But these pompous offers had no effect upon the young knight; he resisted them with as much courage and resolution as he had done their arms. The grand seignior, incensed at his steadiness, resolved to try if harsh usage could not shake his constancy, and accordingly ordered him to be thrown into a dungeon for a fortnight. They there gave him the *bastinado*, put him to the torture, and mangled his limbs, during which this noble confessor of CHRIST JESUS did nothing but call upon his holy name, and implore his grace that he might die for the confession of it. In fine, the grand seignior ordered his head to be cut off; his body was at first left at the place of execution; but Mahomet, to prevent any veneration being paid to it by the Christians, ordered it to be thrown into the river which runs by Adrianople.

A DISPUTE between the French *cominodores* and the officers of the order about the salute when 1673. they met at sea: Lewis XIV. pronounces against himself. This negotiation, which was of a very delicate nature, succeeds by the address of the commander de Hautefeuille ambassador from the order to his most Christian majesty.

THE *mainotes*, of the Greek religion, and inhabitants of the mountains of the Morea, implore the grand master's assistance to enable them to throw off the Turkish yoke. The squadron of the order comes upon their coast; but finding them not united among themselves, some of them being for recovering their liberty, and others for continuing still faithful to the Turks, the galleys of the order gave over the enterprise.

IN the year 1618, the duke of Ostrog a Polish nobleman, had, with the consent of the republic, made the order of Malta heir to all his estate. This great family being now extinct by the death of duke Alexander d'Ostrog,

d'Ostrog, the chevalier prince de Lubomirski gave immediate advice thereof to the grand master. But duke Demetrius the petty-general of the crown, laying claim to the inheritance, under pretence that he had married the sister of duke Alexander, the grand master sent prince Lubomirski a letter of attorney to maintain the rights of the order.

THE admiral brother Paul Raphael Spinola, 1674. takes three merchant ships richly laden, in the gulph of Magra.

THE viceroy of Sicily applies to the order for succours. The grand master immediately sends him the squadron of the gallies. Several great crosses go on board them, as a testimony of their zeal for the king of Spain's service, whose subjects they were born. In the mean time, the chevalier de Valbelle throws a supply of French troops into Messina.

THE grand master Nicolas Cotoner makes an endowment to maintain the fortress of Ricafoli in the island of Malta.

THE king of England declares war against the rovers of Tripoli, and his ships are well received in the ports of Malta. 1675.

FREDERICK de Mogelin the king of Poland's envoy arrives at Malta, and presents the grand master with a letter from that prince, in which he tells him, that, as his territories were continually infested by the Turkish forces, he should be exceedingly obliged to him if he would make a diversion by some considerable enterprise. The grand master answers him, that by complying with the solicitations of his Polish majesty, he would do no more than discharge the obligations of his own profession; that the order had always employed their forces against the infidels, but that they would now encrease their armaments, in order to answer the wants and instances of his majesty.

THE viceroy of Sicily endeavours to engage the order, as being a feudatory of that crown, to make war against the people of Messina. The grand master answers him, that they are forbid by the very instituti-

on of the order ever to concern themselves in any war between Christians, and that there was nothing of that nature to be found in the deed of infeoffment of Malta.

THE post-house is settled at Malta in the fort of Marza-muzet, which the grand master Manoel has in our time secured with very necessary fortifications.

CHARLES II. king of England writes in a very obliging manner to the grand master, to thank him for the great civilities he shewed to his admiral and his ships, which he received into the harbour of Malta.

THE Genoese embark some troops from the Milanese, and transport them into the port of Melazzo, 1676. where the gallies of the order were at that time under the command of the bailiff de Spinola, who, out of complaisance for the viceroy of Sicily, and forgetting the insult the squadron of the order had received in the port of Genoa, consents that the Patron of that commonwealth should have the post of the Patron of Malta: the great affection he had for his country was undoubtedly the motive of his acting in that manner, and perhaps too it might be to make a compliment to Augustine Durazzo, commodore of the Genoese, who had married Spinola's niece.

A DREADFUL plague at Malta, which destroys a great number of knights, and abundance of people.

MALTA being almost depopulated, is no longer able to supply the same number of knights for the 1677. gallies; so that in the naval expeditions, where, before the plague broke out, they used to have one and twenty knights on board every galley, the number was this year reduced to eleven for the admiral, and nine for the other gallies.

THE dignity of marshal being now vacant, the commander brother Lewis de Fay Garlande, and brother René de Maisonseule, both of the language of Auvergne, of the same standing in the order, and who had passed through the same employments, aspired to it in opposition to each other. After a long dispute, the grand master, and some common friends of the two claimants, finding

finding no way to decide the competitorship, persuaded them to agree, that they shall enjoy this dignity alternately, and each have his month.

MAISONSEULE dies two years after this compromise. Gerlande being left alone in the post, puts to sea with five galleys, and meets two 1678. Algerine corsairs off of cape Passaro : but instead of laying them aboard, as was the constant practice of the knights, he only cannonaded the two corsairs : this made Maisonseule be regreted, and occasioned great complaints at Malta against Gerlande, who excused himself by saying that the wind was against him.

CAPTAIN Peter Fleeches, a native of Majorca, meets an Algerine corsair in the same place, and sinks him, but saves an hundred Turkish soldiers, whom he afterwards sold to the order for an hundred pieces of eight per slave.

THE pope is desirous of putting an end to the disputes between the order and the republic of Genoa. He speaks to the Maltese ambassador upon that subject, who, by order of his superiors, told the pope, that the order was all obedience, and that, notwithstanding the insult which had been offered by the Genoese, it was yet ready to pay a blind and implicit submission to whatever determination his holiness should think fit to make in the case. The pope, not caring to take upon him the decision of that affair, it was spun out some time longer.

DON John of Austria, grand prior of Castile, being dead, the grand master and council design to retrench 3000 ducats from the revenue of that rich benefice, in favour of several persons : but the king of Spain, who laid claim to the right of patronage of that grand priory opposes the curtailing of its revenue.

PEACE concluded between France and Spain by the marriage of Charles II. with the princess Maria Louisa, eldest daughter to the duke of Orleans, 1679. his most Christian majesty's brother. Brother don Juan de Villa Viciosa goes to compliment his catholic

tholic majesty in the grand master's name, and obtain his leave to export a quantity of corn, which arrives at Malta at a time when a famine was beginning to ravage the whole island.

THE grand master, who some years before had been seized with a kind of palsy, is now at-  
1680. tacked with very severe fits of the gout and stone. A slow fever steals away from him his strength by insensible degrees, without any way lessening his courage or his vigilance, but a dysentery forces him at last to keep his bed. He appoints brother don Arland Seralte, prior of Catalonia, to be lieutenant of the mastership, and dies with great sentiments of piety on the 29th of April, in the 73d year of his age. This prince, who by his artful management had procured his brother the dignity of grand master, owed his own advancement to his merit only. He kept up his dignity by a superiority of genius, that made him respected by all who approached him : he had an excellent talent at negotiations ; was bold in his enterprises, and prudent in the choice of proper means to execute them : he had all his fellow knights for his friends, communicated his designs but to very few among them, and never had a confidant. He was buried in the chapel of the language of Arragon, and the following epitaph was put on his tomb.

D. O. M.

“ Fratri D. Nicolas Cottoner, magno Hierosolymitani ordinis magistro, animi magnitudine, consilio,  
“ munificentia, majestate principi, erecto ad Mahometis  
“ dedecus ex navigii rostris, ac sultanæ prædæ trophæo ;  
“ Melitâ magnificis extructionibus, Templorum nitore  
“ explicato, munitoque urbis pomærio, splendidè auctâ ;  
“ cive è pestilentiaë faucibus pene rapto ; Hierosolymitano ordine, cui primus post fratrem præfuit,  
“ legibus, auctoritate, spoliis amplificato ; republica  
“ difficillimis sæculi belli temporibus servata : verè  
“ magno quod tanti nominis mensuram gestis impleverit,  
“ pyramidem hanc excelsi testem animi, D. D. C. fama  
superstes.

“superstes. Vixit in magisterio annos XVI. menses  
“VI. obiit 29 Aprilis 1680, ætatis 73. Post ejus  
“obitum, executores testamentarii tumultum hunc fieri  
“mandavere.”

THREE days after Cotoner's funeral, they met to chuse him a successor. Parties had been forming during his illness, and were still carried on. The treasurer de Vignacour was sure of ten votes, and did all he could to engage the Spanish language on his side, but in vain.

THE electors name the prior of Rochelle, D. Gregory Caraffa, a Neapolitan. GREGORY  
This choice was agreeable to CARAFFA.  
all, but especially to the Italians, who, for 128 years before, had not had a grand master elected from among their countrymen.

THE new grand master applies himself diligently to regulate the affairs of the order, and finish the fortifications that had been begun by his predecessor.

GENERAL Correa returns to Malta with six Algerine ships, which he had taken, 1681.  
after having run a great risque of being taken himself.

THE bailiff Colbert succeeds Correa in the post of general of the gallies of the order.

THE bailiff d'Arrias, who for 24 years had enjoyed the post of vice-chancellor, and distinguished himself in the discharge of it, made a voluntary resignation of his office to the grand master, who, upon the chancellor's presentation, appointed the commander Carriero a Portuguese, secretary of the treasury, to succeed him. Carriero's post is given to the commander Bovio, who was afterward grand prior of England. 1682.

BROTHER Jerom Molina, bishop of Malta, is translated to the bishoprick of Lerida. The king of Spain, upon the grand master's presentation, names brother David Cocco Palmieri, a man of admirable probity, to the see of Malta.

THE king of France writes to the grand master, to notify to him the birth of the duke of Burgundy. Great rejoicings at Malta: the French knights of the three languages distinguish themselves by the noble feasts they make on this occasion.

THE dukes of Ganfron and Berwick come to Malta. This last receives the cross from the hands of the grand master, with the title of grand prior of England.

THE Turks besiege the city of Vienna with a formidable army. John Sobieski king of Poland, and the duke of Lorraine generalissimo of the emperor's forces, and the duke of Bavaria join to relieve it: The infidels are beaten in several engagements, and are at last repulsed with so much loss, that they are scarce able to repass the Danube.

THIS success induces pope Innocent XI. to conclude a league with the emperor, the king of Poland, and the state of Venice, against the infidels. The grand master is desirous to share in such a laudable engagement, writes about it to the pope, and prepares all his forces to join the confederates. The squadron of the order puts to sea, under the command of the bailiff of St. Stephens, alarms all the coast of Barbary, and drives the enemy out of the two islands of Prevela and Santa Maura.

A NEW armament of the order commanded by brother Hector de la Tour Maubourg. The Venetian fleet, and the pope's gallees join the Maltese squadron at Messina. Morosini, generalissimo of the republic, attacks Coron, and takes it after a stout resistance from the besieged. The knights distinguish themselves in the siege, by incredible efforts of valour, particularly by driving the infidels out of a fort which they had recovered from the Venetians. General la Tour is killed in this attack.

FORT St. Elmo is rebuilt, and the castle of St. Angelo fortified by the grand master's care.

THE knights put to sea again in the spring, under the command of Erbestin, grand prior of Hungary, meet

meet the pope's gallies at Messina, and sail together for the Levant. The Venetian fleet joins them at the isle of Santa Maura. They besiege old Navarino, take it, and go from thence to attack new Navarino, a place of great importance, by its situation, and the convenience of its harbour, but defended by a strong garrison. Morosini, after some days siege, takes it, and advances with his fleet to Modon, a town of greater strength, but forced in like manner to surrender: several knights lost their lives at these sieges.

THE confederates, encouraged by their good success, advance towards Napoli di Romania, the capital of the kingdom of the Moca. They land there on the 30th of July, and lay siege to the place; they rout the serasquier three times, as he attempted to relieve it, and take it after a month's siege, and a gallant defence made by the besieged. General Erbestein sets sail for Malta. Nineteen knights were killed at this siege, with a considerable number of their soldiers.

THE commander don Fortunato Caraffa, the grand master's brother, prince John Francis de Medicis, prior of Pisa, brother to the grand duke, and brother Leopold Kollonitsch, bishop of Neustat, are made cardinals.

NEW preparations are made at Rome for the Levant. The grand master fits out eight gallies, under the command of brother Claude de Mechetein. A descent in Dalmatia. The three fleets join before Castelnovo, which surrenders, and thereby leaves the Venetians entire masters of all the Adriatic gulph. Pope Innocent XI. writes to the grand master to compliment him upon the valour which his knights had shewed in this expedition.

THE duke of Uzeda is made viceroy of Sicily in the stead of count de St. Stephen, who, escorted by a convoy of Maltese gallies, goes to take possession of the viceroyalty of Naples.

BROTHER don Emmanuel Pinto de Fonseca is made bailiff of Acre. Brother don Felix Inigo de'Aierva quits the post of grand conservator for the bailiwick of Caspa. Brother

Ximenes de la Fontaza, bailiff of Negrepont, is made grand conservator, and is succeeded in his bailiwick by the great chancellor Correa. Brother don Philip Escoveda is made great chancellor. Brother Fabio Gori gets the bailiwick of Venusia. Brother Ferretti, receiver of Venice, is made bailiff of St. Euphemia. The admiral Cavaretta takes the bailiwick of St. Stephens. Averardo de Medicis succeeds him in the admiralty, and Spinelli, bailiff of Armenia, is named general of the gallies.

THE Squadron puts to sea again in the spring, being headed by the commander Mechatein. The  
1689. generalissimo Morosini is made doge this year, and sends out the Venetian fleet. The two armies joining, attack the fort of Negrepont. The siege proves long and difficult, and they are obliged to raise it at last, after having lost abundance of men, and 29 of the bravest knights.

THE grand master is sensibly afflicted at this loss. His grief, with a retention of urine, which  
1690, came upon him at the same time, throws him into a fever: he gives away his effects, appoints his seneschal, brother don Charles Caraffa, to be lieutenant of the mastership, and thinks of nothing but another world. He dies on the 21st of July, in the 76th year of his age, after having enjoyed the grand mastership nine years and ten months. Never was the humility of a religious united in greater perfection to the virtues of a soldier. He distinguished himself in a particular manner by his love for the poor. His body was carried to the chapel of the language of Italy, where he had caused a monument to be erected for himself. The epitaph which he himself composed two years before his death, is still to be read upon it.

D. O. M.

“ Fr. D. Gregorius Caraffa Aragonius è principibus  
“ Roccellæ, magnus Hierosolymitani ordinis magister,  
“ cui vivere, vitâ peractâ, in votis erat. Quia mortem  
“ primam qui prævenit, secundam evitat; hoc sibi  
“ adhuc

“ adhuc vivens non mausoleum, sed tumulum posuit re-  
 “ surrecturo satis. An. Dom. 1688.”

THE following inscription was engraved on the marble under his statue.

“ Emeritos venerare cineres, viator. Hic jacet Fr.  
 “ D. Gregorius Caraffa ab Aragonia, M. M. clarus ge-  
 “ nere, genio præclarior. Heroas, quos in nomine  
 “ gessit, in virtute expressit. Effusâ comitate, diffusis  
 “ triumphis, populos habuit amatores, orbem fecit  
 “ admiratorem. Bis ad Hellepontum, toties ad Epi-  
 “ rum, Peloponnesum, Illyrium, impertito ductu, præ-  
 “ validâ opè classes delevit, regias expugnavit. Mu-  
 “ nificentîâ, pietate princeps laudatissimus. Urbem,  
 “ Arces, Portus, Xenodochia, Templâ ampliavit, re-  
 “ stituit, ornavit. Publico semper Religionis bono  
 “ curas impendit & studia. Ærarium ditissimo spolio  
 “ cumulavit. Obiit die 21 Julii, anno æt. 76. mag.  
 “ 10. sal. 1690.”

NEW cabals for the election. They agree at last in favour of brother Adrian de Vignacourt, great treasurer of the order, nephew to ADRIAN Alef de Vignacourt, who was elected to DEVIGNA- the same dignity in 1601. He takes pos- COURT. session of the two islands, and sends the commander Riggio to Palermo to notify his election to the duke of Uzeda, viceroy of Sicily.

THE squadron returns from the Levant, whither it had been sent to join the Venetian fleet, and brings the first account to Malta of the taking of Valonne, which occasions great rejoicings.

THE grand master, from his great liberality, relieves the pressing necessities of the widows and children of all such of his subjects as had been killed in the last wars. Several knights follow his example.

THE order maintains a galliot well man- ned to give chase to the corsairs of Barba- 1691.  
 ty, who were continually roving up and

down the Sicilian sea, even to the very channel of the two islands.

CARDINAL Pignatelli, a Neapolitan, is chose pope on the 8th of August, and takes the name of Innocent the XII.

THE grand master erects several magazines, and adds considerable fortifications to all such places as were not in a good condition of defence. In the midst of these employments, which were only intended for the security of his order, he receives letters from the emperor Leopold I. acquainting him that the Imperial army, commanded by prince Lewis of Baden, had just gained so complete a victory over the Turks, that 30,000 of them had been killed on the spot.

A LARGE and fine arsenal erected at Malta for building of gallies. The ministers of the court of Rome are for comprehending the estates of the order in an extraordinary tax, which the pope was raising upon all ecclesiastical possessions. The new pope, of his own accord, exempts them from it, without staying for any remonstrances from the order; and, by a brief of the 7th of December, renews the permission which his predecessors had formerly granted of carrying the holy sacrament on board the gallies.

THE grand prior of Messina, general of the gallies, puts to sea, and advances towards the coast of Barbary, without finding any opportunity to signalize his courage. He sails for the Levant, joins the pope's gallies at Messina, and the Venetian army at Napoli di Romania: all the fleet goes to attack Canea, a place of importance on account of its port, and one of the most agreeable cities of the isle of Candia. After a siege of twenty-four days, they are forced to retire, the season being too far advanced. The squadron of the order returns back to Malta, at the time they were making public rejoicings there for the taking of the fortrefs of great Waradin by the imperial army.

THE marques d'Orville, nephew to Vignacourt, arrives at Malta, where he is received with all the honours

nours usually paid to the nephews of the reigning grand master.

THE isle of Malta is greatly terrified on occasion of a dreadful earthquake which began on the 11th of January, at ten o'clock in the evening, and lasted three days, overturning several buildings in that space of time. The same earthquake destroys entirely the town of Agosta in Sicily. Four gallies arrive from that island, and bring the grand master an account of this misfortune. He immediately dispatched away the general of the squadron with five gallies to go to the assistance of the inhabitants; orders public prayers all over the island, and a fast of three days to appease the wrath of heaven, and forbids the usual diversions of the carnival this year. He after this sets about repairing the damage which the earthquake had done in Malta.

SEVERAL vessels were in want of masts, rigging, and other things necessary for their putting to sea. The grand master sends for every thing that was wanting to the fleet, and has it brought from Amsterdam. He likewise gives orders for repairing the magazines and the ovens which the order had at Agosta. The commander Ferrao, who was entrusted with this commission, rebuilds these structures with much greater magnificence than before, and puts the arms of Vignacourt over them.

THE grand prior, after coasting all the isles of the Archipelago with his squadron, returns to the bay of Terra-nova, gives chase to a ship of Tunis, and boards it notwithstanding its being defended by 130 soldiers, takes it after some resistance, and brings it to Malta. There he finds the grand master very much displeased with him. He was accused of having avoided an engagement with three corsairs and a tartan, which he met going to the Levant. The general clears himself by proving that he had pursued the enemy briskly till night came on, and resolved to attack them the next day, but that the corsairs got off in the dark, and he could never get sight of them afterwards. After a full

examination into the affair, and the taking of depositions in form, the general is declared innocent.

A NEW armament under the command of brother Francis Sigismund, count of Thun, who was  
1694. named general in the place of the grand prior of Messina.

TAKING of the town of Scio after a week's siege.

THE king of France and the duke of Savoy are for raising subsidies upon the estates of the order lying within their territories, under pretence of the excessive expence of the war. The grand master represents to them the privileges of the order, and both the princes desist from their design.

THE pope takes upon him the arbitration of the difference between the order and the republic of Genoa, and reconciles those two powers. Several Genoese are admitted into the order.

GENERAL Sigismund puts to sea again, and chases a ship of Tripoli. He takes it after an engage-  
1695. ment of two hours, and sends it to Malta, himself still keeping on his course towards the Levant. His voyage was entirely useless, because the Venetians, whom he joined, would not engage in any enterprise, under pretence that the season was too far advanced.

THE grand master's sickness, which occasions great canvassings for the future election, but they  
1696. are stopped by his recovery. The pope makes the order a present of a great number of galley-slaves whom he sends to Malta.

THE grand master is seized with a violent fever, and prepares for death. He names the bailiff of  
1697. Leza don Gasper Carnero, of the priory of Portugal, to be lieutenant of the mastership, parts with all his effects, and dies on the 4th of February, after having been grand master near seven years, and lived 79. His piety and innocence of life and conversation, had ever made up a character of this prince. His integrity and his beneficent temper procured him a general esteem; and he was never liable to any reproach,

proach, but that of having suffered himself to be governed by some favourites who were much more intent upon their own interests, than they were on those of the order, or the honour of the person who gave them all his confidence. They buried him in the chapel of the language of France, where this epitaph is to be seen.

## D. O. M.

Eminentissimi principis  
Fr. Adriani de Vignacourt mortales exuviae  
Sub hoc marmore quiescunt.  
Si generis splendorem quæras  
Habes in solo nomine,  
Habes in affinitatibus penè regiis.  
Si religiosæ vitæ merita spectes,  
Charitatem erga pauperes & infirmos indefessam,  
Erga peste laborantes generosam  
Mirari poteris.  
Et ita intemeratam morum innocentiam,  
Ut mori potiùs, quam fœdari voluerit.  
Magni Aloffii ex patre nepos,  
Integritatis, fortitudinis, & justitiæ laude  
Simillimus;  
Tanti principis famam est assecutus.  
Vixit sanctissimè, sanctissimè obiit,  
anno salutis 1697.

THE assembly for the election of a new grand master is held on the 7th of February; the electors are divided into several factions, but unite at last in favour of brother Raimond Perellos de Roccaful, of the language of Arragon, bailiff of Negrepont, and sixty years of age. Two days after he takes possession of the sovereignty of the two islands; and the 15th he assembles the council in order to reform the abuses that had crept into the order. The popes had frequently yielded to the importunity of some ambitious knights,

knights, and granted them briefs to be received great crosses of grace: which made the old knights, when they saw themselves supplanted by these young men of the recompence due to their services, retire frequently into their own countries; when, thinking they had just reasons to be disgusted with the order, they became more indifferent to its interests, and left their estates to their families; an affair, the care of which was of the utmost importance to the order. Accordingly they resolved to write to his holiness on that subject, and to desire him not to grant for the future any such briefs, which struck at the very foundation of their discipline. They likewise made a regulation, by which all such as were professed in the order were forbid to wear any gold or silver on their cloaths, and absolutely prohibited all games of chance. The duke of Veraguas, viceroy of Sicily, who had long solicited to obtain a brief in favour of the commander Riggio, receiver of Palermo, for the making of him a grand cross, continues his instances warmly, and succeeds in obtaining it, because they found the brief had been dispatched by Vignacourt.

PEACE concluded at Reswick between France and Spain. Public rejoicings at Malta upon that 1698. occasion. Boris Petrowits Seremetef, a near relation of the Czar's, comes to visit the grand master, with letters of recommendation from the pope and the emperor. He is received with all the honour due to his quality and merit.

POPE Innocent XII. puts an end to the disputes that had continued a long time between the bishop 1699. of Malta and the prior of the church, with respect to their jurisdiction. Both parties submit with joy to the decision of the holy father; and the grand master, by way of acknowledgement, causes his holiness's statue in brass to be erected over the great door of the church of Victory, with this inscription:

“ INNOCENTIO XII. optimo & sanctissimo Pontifici, diffidiis compositis inter ecclesiasticum & magistrale

“ strale forum exortis, utrique juribus pie servatis,  
 “ pluribus commendis liberaliter restitutis; Em. &  
 “ Rev. Dom. Fr. D. Raimondus de Perellos Roccaful,  
 “ grato & unanimi omnium voto, tot tantaque beneficia  
 “ æternitati dicavit MDCIC.”

THE gallies of the order attack two vessels of Tunis. The wind shifting on a sudden parts them, and gives the corsairs an opportunity to make their escape. The grand master and council, having been misinformed of this accident, and fearing the officers had been wanting in their duty, appoint commissioners to examine into the affair, which they perform with the utmost care, and clear the officers of all manner of blame.

THE bailiff Spinola general of the squadron, embarking on the 15th of February, spies a man of war belonging to the enemy off of Sicily, and comes up with her by hard rowing. The admiral-galley which followed him close, having lost its main-sail by a gust of wind. Spinola resolved to board her. The engagement was bloody on both sides. The commander Spinola, the general's brother, receives a mortal wound by the grand prior of Messina's side, who fought leaning upon his valet de chambre, being so very old that he could not stand unsupported. The valet de chambre is killed, and the prior holds with one hand upon the frame of wood that sustains the compass, and continues fighting. Victory was going to declare for the knights when the enemy's ship bears with all its force upon the admiral-galley, and splits it. A south wind rises and blows a terrible storm, which disperses the squadron. The commander Javon, captain of the St. Paul goes to the succour of those who were cast away in the admiral, and saves fifty of them, among whom were general Spinola, the commander Brosia, and the chevalier de St. Germain, and resolves to stay in the same place to get off the rest, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the pilot, who assures them they were in great danger: “ I shall be happy enough, says the captain, if I lose  
 “ my life in saving but a single man of them.” The wind however drove him away in spite of all his endeavours.

deavours. Two and twenty knights, and above 500 men, both officers as well as soldiers, perished either in the engagement or the wreck. The other gallies are driven by the tempest towards the Levant; they join again at Augusta and return to Malta. The grand master provides for the subsistence of the families of such of his subjects as had perished in this engagement.

PERELLOS had long seen with pain, that ever since the order had laid aside their men of war, and had only kept up a squadron of gallies, the Barbary corsairs were continually taking the Christian merchant ships, making descents upon the coasts of Italy and Spain, plundering the villages, and carrying off from time to time a great number of families into slavery.

THE Christians had cast their eyes for upwards of fourscore years past upon the knights of Malta their old protectors for redress, but in vain: there had hitherto been always too many difficulties started before a squadron of men of war could be provided at Malta: but Perellos being in the mastership, and assisted with the advice of the bailiff Zondodari who succeeded him, fancied that all these obstacles might be surmounted, and brought the council into his measures more easily than he could have imagined. So that as soon as he had raised the funds necessary for building of men of war, he searched through the whole order for a knight who had the most skill to inspect their buildings, and was the best qualified to command them. The choice fell upon the chevalier de St Pierre of Normandy, a captain in the king of France's fleet, who afterwards obtained the commandry of Pieton in the grand master's gift for his services. 'Tis to this commander we are indebted for the project to extirpate the corsairs of Barbary, which has been printed abroad among the works of the Abbé de St. Pierre his brother, and had been highly approved of by the grand master.

THE St. Paul galley is driven, by a gust of wind, upon the rocks of the little isle of Ostrica near Palermo; and notwithstanding all that general Javon could do,

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he was lost with three knights and 70 men of his crew, the rest were saved by the other gallies.

THE squadron returns towards the coast of Barbary, and meets the sultana Binghen, a large ship of 80 guns, with three hundred fighting men 1701. on board. The engagement was long, and the loss considerable on both sides; but at last the knights had the advantage, and carried the ship with them to Malta. The grand master ordered the standard of it to be put in the church of St. John at Aix, the birth place of the chevalier Ricard, as a monument of the valour of that knight who had chiefly contributed to the victory.

DEATH of Charles II. king of Spain. Philip V. succeeds him, and confirms all the privileges of the order.

CARDINAL Albani is chose pope in the room of Innocent XII. and takes the name of Clement XI.

THE squadron of the order, advances as far as Goletta, and attacks the infidels in the very port; they carry a large ship and a brigantine of the enemy back with them to Malta, having only lost one knight and four soldiers in this expedition.

THE grand prior of England goes to Rome in quality of ambassador extraordinary, in order to prevail with the pope to make a regulation 1703. with regard to the inquisitor of Malta's pretensions concerning his jurisdiction. This affair met with several delays, but was at last terminated to the grand master's satisfaction.

THE squadron of ships commanded by the chevalier de St. Pierre sails towards the Levant, meets three ships of Tunis, and gives them chase. 1706. The St. James man of war loses its mast before the engagement, and goes off. The St. John attacks the enemy's admiral, which carried 50 guns, and had 370 sailors on board, and takes it whilst the rest of the enemy's fleet crowd all the sail they can to get off. This ship was added to the squadron of the order, and called the St. Croix, or Holy Cross.

THE commander de Langon, carries a convoy of ammunition to Oran, and with a single ship  
 1707. of 50 guns passes through the midst of the Algerine fleet, which fired upon him continually, and throws a supply into the place, notwithstanding all the efforts of the infidels, who fought in the presence of their king. This action occasioned his being raised soon after to the dignity of lieutenant-general of the Squadron of the order, and commander of the men of war.

THE king of Spain writes to the grand master, by which he desires him to send the Squadron of  
 1708. the order a second time to the relief of Oran.

Preparations are made for it, but not sent away, because of a report which was spread that the infidels had taken the place, and that the grand seignior was making a powerful armament.

PERELLOS, in the midst of his concern at this news, is attacked with the gout and a violent fever.  
 1709. He receives the sacrament with great sentiments of piety, and prepares for death, after having named the grand prior of Messina, Tancred de Sienna, to be lieutenant of the mastership. Finding himself a little easier the next day, he gave brother Alexander Albani the pope's nephew, who was afterwards bailiff of Armenia, the commandry of Viterbo, that was fallen vacant by the death of Rondinelli. He insensibly grows better, and recovers his health entirely.

A STRONG report that they are fitting out at Constantinople a fleet of 20 sultana's, 40 gallies, and a great number of little vessels, and that all these preparations are designed against Malta. The council, not to be taken unprovided, desire succours of the pope, who immediately dispatches a tartan laden with powder, and other provisions necessary to sustain a siege, with 150 soldiers, and a promise to send a more considerable reinforcement as soon as possible. The commander d'Alegre is sent to the king of France; the commander de Sannazar to Leghorn; and the com-  
 mander

mander de Montclair to Genoa. They all came back with considerable forces, and landed at Malta with a great number of knights who crowded from all parts to contribute to the defence of the order. They name the general officers; they divide the soldiers into several bodies, and muster near 10,000 men, all of them resolved to make a gallant defence.

AFTER all, the mighty armament of Constantinople, which had made so much noise, proves to be no more than five sultana's, which go to join three other ships that came out of the ports of Tunis and Tripoli. They are apprehensive of a descent on the isle of Goza; they transport every thing thither that is necessary to defend it; and Tancred grand prior of Messina, notwithstanding his great age and infirmities, obtains the grand master's leave to go over thither. He consults with the commander de Langon lieutenant-general, and the commander de Montfort governor of the island, about repairing the fortifications, and puts it in a good posture of defence. But the enemy, despairing perhaps of succeeding in case they should attempt to attack it, only burnt a few little vessels which they found upon the coast, and sailed back to the Levant.

THE grand master makes considerable additions to the magazines which his predecessor had built, and by that means improves commerce, and brings plenty into his dominions.

UPON the news that four sultana's were put to sea with a brigantine in order to make a descent in Calabria, the grand master sends out the commander de Florigny with a squadron. After some days sail they spy a large ship, which they know to be the admiral of Tripoli, commanded by the famous corsair Bassa-Ali-Antulla-Ogli-Stamboli. He had 600 men on board, with 56 guns and 40 paterero's, and was attended by a tartan of 12 guns, 30 paterero's, and 200 men, commanded by Mahmut Ogli Casdagli, who was resolved, notwithstanding the orders of his general to the contrary, to stand the attack of the squadron. The commander de Langon who was captain of the St.

James

James, began the engagement with his cannon; the enemy's sails took fire, and both ships were in a flame. The Turks, despairing to quench it, plunge into the sea; the knights send out their long boat to their succour, and saved 400 of them, among whom was the rais of the admiral of Tripoli, and 50 Christian slaves whom they set at liberty. The chevalier Pagani de Nocera and five men on board the St. John were lost.

THE grand master sends for corn to the Levant, and by that means provides against a dearth in  
1710. Malta, whither the viceroy of Sicily had refused for above a year to allow any corn to be exported as usual.

THE commander de Langon sails with the squadron of ships towards the coast of Barbary. He meets the admiral of Algiers with 500 men on board, and takes it after a long engagement, in which all the enemy's officers were killed. This victory was fatal to the order by the death of the commander, whose valour and admirable qualities occasioned his being greatly regretted. His body was carried to Carthagenæ, and buried under the great altar of the cathedral. The grand master, to immortalize his memory, ordered a tomb-stone to be erected in the nave of the church of St. John, on which the following epitaph was engraved.

#### D. O. M.

“ FRATRI Josepho de Langon Alverno, cujus vir-  
“ tutem, in ipso tyrocinii flore maturam, Gallicæ naves  
“ fecere, Thraces sensere, Melitenses habuere victri-  
“ cem. Oranum dira obsidione cinctum, cum unica  
“ religionis navi, cui præerat, onerariam ducens, pe-  
“ netrata Algerii classe, ejusque rege teste vel invito,  
“ militem & comæatum invexit. Generalis classium  
“ præfectus ad tripolitanorum prætoriam incendendam  
“ plurimo momento fuit. Laudes tamen consilio &  
“ fortitudine sibi ubique coemptas in alias continuo  
“ transtulit. Supremâ tandem Algerii nave subactâ,  
“ acceptoque inde vulnere acerbo, victor fato cessit,  
“ die

“ die 18 Aprilis 1710, æt. 41. E. M. M. F. D. R.  
 “ de Perellos-Roccaful ad benemerentiæ argumentum,  
 “ mortuo, hoc mœrens positum voluit Cenotaphium, ad  
 “ memoriæ perennitatem.”

ATTEMPT of the inquisitor of Malta upon the infirmary of the order. The tribunal of the inquisition had been introduced into the island 1711. by pope Gregory XIII. but with so much tenderness and caution, that they were scarce sensible of it. The bishop of Malta was the first person invested with this commission. Some time after, they put in an officer of the court of Rome, but enjoined him not to do any thing without the concurrence of the grand master, the bishop, the prior of the church, and the vice-chancellor; and he was expressly restrained from taking cognizance of any crime but that of heresy. They did not at that time think of opposing an authority, the exercise of which was lodged in the first persons of the order, nor foresee that the inquisitors might in time “<sup>a</sup> make themselves not only independent but insupportable to a body of knights descended of the most noble blood of Christendom, and whose order is invested with a sovereign power over its subjects.”

DELICI, who exercised the office of inquisitor in 1711, after having carried his pretensions so high, as to insist that the grand master's coach should stop when it met his, thought he ought not to suffer the infirmary of the order to continue any longer exempt from his jurisdiction. Twas the most privileged place of the order<sup>b</sup>, entrusted to the guard of some French knights who were infinitely zealous for their liberty, and subject to no authority but that of the grand hospitaller. No one else, of what quality soever, can enter it with-

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<sup>a</sup> Memorial presented to Lewis XIV.

<sup>b</sup> The very marshal of the order cannot go into the infirmary, without leaving his staff of command at the door.

out first leaving the marks of his dignity  
 Dec. 7. at the door. The officers of the inquisition got in by surprise, and began to make a visitation in form. The commander d'Avernes de Bocage, overseer of the infirmary, upon notice of this attempt, came in great haste to oppose it, turned them out immediately, and entered a protest of nullity against all they might have done in his absence.

THE grand master sends the grand prior Zondodari to Rome as ambassador of the order, to give  
 1712. the pope an account of the unjust pretensions of the inquisitor. The overseer of the infirmary goes himself to France to represent the case to his most Christian majesty, who writes in very warm terms to his holiness upon that subject, and engages him to disown and stop the attempts of his deputy.

BROTHER James de Noailles, ambassador of the order in France, dies at Paris in the 59th year  
 Apr. 22. of his age. The bailiff de la Vieuville succeeds him in that quality, who makes his entry on the 4th of December with all the ceremonies used at the entry of the ambassadors of sovereign princes.

THE commander Zondodari, ambassador extraordinary at Rome, makes fresh complaints against the inquisitor, for taking upon him the granting of patents to a great number of Maltese to exempt them from the obedience which they owed to their sovereign.

BROTHER Adrian de Langon, captain of the St. Catharine, attacks seven Algerine vessels, puts  
 1713. them to flight, and takes one called the Half Moon of 40 guns, and manned with 400 men. Thirty-six Christian slaves are delivered on this occasion, and the order loses only seven men in the engagement.

THE pope writes to the grand master to engage him to send the gallies of the order to cruize off of the coast of the ecclesiastical state, where the corsairs of Barbary were continually taking prizes.

THE

THE commander de Langon chases an Algerine corsair of 56 guns and 500 men, comes up with him off of the isles d'Hieres, shoots all his masts 1714. by the board in an engagement of six hours, and sinks him when he could not prevail upon him to strike. They could save no more than two Christians and six Turks of all the crew.

ANOTHER ship of Barbary taken, in which they made 95 slaves. Death of the bailiff de la Vieuville ambassador of the order in France. The bailiff de Mesmes succeeds him in his post.

THE great preparations made at Constantinople give them an alarm at Malta. The grand master writes to all the knights to be in a readiness to set out upon the first orders; for that purpose repairs all the fortifications, and provides all things necessary for the defence of the island.

THE knights dispersed over the several parts of Europe begin to rendezvous in order to set out. Some, whose advanced age would not suffer them to undertake such a journey, remit the revenues of their commandries to the grand master, in order to their being employed in the defence of Malta; and others, though disabled from acting by their great age and infirmities, are resolved to go and assist at least with their advice.

THE French knights, not excepting the novices, signalize their zeal in taking up considerable sums on their own credit, which they lay out 1715. in buying a great quantity of arms and all kinds of ammunition. They send this supply to Malta, and agree to follow soon after. The grand master in the mean timetakes 150,000 crowns out of the treasury, and borrows a larger sum in his own name, employing it all in fetching from different places every thing that was necessary to make a vigorous defence: he gets a reinforcement of troops and gallies from the pope, and obtains leave to raise men in the ecclesiastical state.

WHILST all these preparations were making at Malta to oppose the enemy, an unknown person of a handsome aspect came to offer his service to the grand master in quality of an engineer. His offers were the more readily accepted as he seemed to be well skilled in fortifications. Some knights were appointed to shew him all the works, particularly those of la Valette, upon which he gave them several good hints, and a great idea of his capacity. Two days after he was shewn, and whatever search was made after him, they could never find him. They made no question but he was a spy sent by the Turks to observe the condition of the island. This adventure made the grand master think of sending some person on whom he could depend to Constantinople, in order to get a more perfect account of the grand seignior's designs. Andrew Veran, of the town of Arles, who had lived a long time at Malta, offered himself for this commission, and accordingly set out with a vessel laden with merchandize under pretence of trading in the Levant. He first landed at Napoli di Romania the capital of the Morea, where he met with the captain-general of the republic of Venice. He learned from him, that the Turkish armament was increasing every day, but that it seemed to be designed only against the Venetians. Sailing from thence to the Dardanelles, he was informed that the infidels had declared war against the state of Venice. He arrived at Constantinople where he saw the count des Aleurs the French ambassador, who took him under his protection, and gave him an exact account of all the designs of the porte.

IN the mean time the knights were arriving at Malta from all quarters, none of them failing to bring some succour along with them. They fitted out a naval force, and the squadron of the order joined that of the pope, that they might be enabled to meet the Ottoman fleet. Veran returned back to Malta; and, by the account he gave of the motions of the Turkish army, they found that either the grand seignior had no design upon that island, or, which was more probable, that he had

had altered his measures upon the advice he had received of the good condition it was put in by the grand master's care, and the vast resort of knights thither from all parts.

THE republic of Venice desires succours from the grand master against the Turks. The order sends them five men of war and some gallies, 1716. which give chase to three corsairs of Barbary, and take one of 54 guns with 500 men on board: they bring it to Malta with four saicks laden with all sorts of provisions.

DISPUTES between the commanding officers of the auxiliary squadrons. The pope puts an end to them by giving the commodore of the Maltese squadron the title of his lieutenant-general.

THE squadron of the order takes several Turkish ships laden with merchandize, and carries them to Corfu, where the chevalier de Langon, who commanded the pope's squadron, gains several advantages over the infidels.

THE ships of the order, with a reinforcement of two frigates and some light vessels, put to sea again to join the allies. A Maltese privateer 1717. sinks a large Turkish ship and saves part of the crew.

A SEA engagement between the auxiliary troops and the Turks near the isle of Stags. The infidels, whose ships suffered a great deal, fly away after having cannonaded one another for two hours together. The auxiliary troops came off without loss. The bailiff de Bellefontaine, who commanded the fleet, signalized himself in an extraordinary manner all this campaign, and was received at his return by the grand master with the highest marks of distinction.

THE squadron puts to sea again, reinforced with the St. John man of war of 70 guns, and goes to join the Venetian fleet. The Turks grow 1718. less eager to carry on the war, and the Christian armada finds few opportunities of signalizing it self this campaign.

THE pope gives the cross of Malta to the king of Poland's natural son. The squadron of the  
 1719. order make a considerable prize in the Archipelago, where they take two gallies richly laden from Constantinople, on one of which the basha of Romelia with all his family was going to Napoli di Romania.

THE chevalier Fraguier, first ensign of the grand master's company of guards, brings his most Christian majesty a present of birds of prey, a present which the grand masters are used to make to the king of France.

THE chevalier d'Orleans takes the oaths before the king for the grand priory of France, which  
 1720. was vacant upon the voluntary resignation of the grand prior de Vendôme.

THE grand master Raimond Perellos de Rocaful, being worn out with his great age, and a fit of sickness, which had been upon him upwards of a year, dies after a reign of 22 years. He distinguished himself by his liberality to such families as had been ruined by the infidels; made considerable improvements in the fortifications of the island, and omitted nothing he thought might any way contribute to support the lustre and glory of his order.

THE electors being assembled with the usual ceremonies, chuse the bailiff MARC AN-  
 MARC AN- TONIO ZONDODARI for their grand  
 TONIO ZON- master. He was a native of Sienna, and  
 DODARI. highly worthy of the mastership on account of his personal merit and his illustrious birth. The rejoicings made on this occasion are heightened by the taking of two large corsairs of Barbary, which were brought at the same time into the harbour. This success is soon after followed by the taking of the admiral of Algiers, a ship of 30 guns, and 500 men on board.

THE bailiff Ruffo is made general of the gallies of the order. The grand master obtains a brief from the pope, to oblige all such knights as had upwards of  
 300 l.

300 l. annual income, to maintain every one a soldier at his own expence for the security of the island; but it does not appear that this brief was ever put in execution.

THE Squadron which the grand master had granted the king of Spain to guard his coasts, puts to sea under the command of the bailiff de Lan- 1721. gon, and chases a galliot of Barbary that was cruising off of the coast of Sardinia. They cannot come up with her, but take a pink which she had made a prize of a little before. The St. John man of war, of which the commodore was on board, meets, some days afterwards, with an Algerine vessel of 40 guns, comes up with her, and takes her after an hour's engagement. Twenty Christian slaves were delivered, and 260 infidels made slaves. A few days after, they meet the Squadron of Tunis, consisting of the admiral, the Patrone, and the Porcupine. The two first get off in the night, after a long and smart engagement; but the Porcupine was forced to strike, after having stood it out against all the five till ten at night. They deliver thirty-two Christians, who were slaves in this ship. This success, which was owing to the valour of captain Algonis de la Grois, casts such a terror over all the coast of Barbary, that no corsair dares stir out to cruise.

DON Carlo Conti, prince of Poli, nephew to the pope, receives the cross of the order from the hands of cardinal Pamphileo, grand prior of 1722. Rome.

THE grand master, who had been attacked for upwards of six months with a kind of gangrene in his bowels, dies on the 16th of June, at the age of 63 years 7 months and 15 days. This prince, who was highly estimable for his singular piety, took great care to fortify the island, was exceeding charitable, maintained a regularity of discipline in his order, as much by his example as his authority, and wanted nothing but a longer reign to answer in every respect the great hopes conceived of him.

BROTHER don Raimond d'Espong, bailiff of Negropont, lieutenant of the mastership, calls the council together; and, after the usual ceremonies, the electors agreed unanimously in the

D'ANTHONY EMANUEL DE VILHENA.

choice of d'Anthony Emanuel de Vilhena, a Portuguese, of the language of Castile, to be their grand master. His birth,

his personal virtues, and his perfect knowledge of the rules and maxims of the order, made him truly worthy of this promotion. He had passed through all the dignities of the order, and distinguished himself in them all. He had hardly finished his caravans when he was made captain of the admiral galley, and was wounded in an engagement with two Tripoli ships, which general Antonio Correa de Sousa took in 1680. Four years after he was made captain of one of the men of war, which the order sent to assist the Venetians in the conquest of the Morea. They made him successively major, and then colonel of the country militia. In 1692 he had the command of the 8th galley, and the year following that of the St. Anthony. He was made great cross of grace in 1696, commissary of the navy two years afterwards, and commissary of war in 1701. The dignity of great chancellor of the order was conferred upon him in 1713. He quitted it three years after to take that of bailiff d'Acre; was chose one of the 21 electors for the election of the grand master Zondodari, and the same year was made procurator of the treasury. These several posts, in all of which he behaved himself to the infinite satisfaction of the order in general, were so many steps to raise him to the mastership.

THE new grand master's first care was to put the island in a state of defence against the invasion with which the Turks still threatened it. He built fort Emmanuel on the little isle of Maria-mouffet, which the infidels might have easily seized on, and would thereby have greatly facilitated their success. He likewise ordered

ordered all such knights as were 19 years of age to repair to him.

THE grand seignior's great preparations against the order were made at the instance of a slave, called Hali, whom Mahomet Effendi, his ambassador in France, had redeemed as he passed by Malta. This slave, who was beloved by the knights, and in favour with the grand master, had served in the navy, and had been for ten years iman or chief of the Turkish slaves that were at Malta. Upon his return to Constantinople, he gave the ministers of the porte an account of the forces of the order, and persuaded them that it would be an easy matter to surprise the island, by the help of those slaves, who were ever prepared for a revolt, and were more in number than the inhabitants : that in order to succeed in their attempt, they needed only fit out a squadron of ten ships, and appear with it before Malta, where the slaves would infallibly take arms, and their insurrection crown them with success.

THE project pleased the grand vizier. Accordingly commodore Abdi Capitan put to sea with ten ships : Hali embarked likewise with a captain's commission, when they came and presented themselves before Malta. But the wise precautions the grand master had taken rendered the executing of their design impracticable. They retired after a few broadsides, and Abdi Capitan sent the grand master the following letter :

“ THE first man of the isle of Malta, the heads of his council, and chiefs of the languages of France, of Venice, and other nations that adore the Messias, are advertised by this letter, that we have been expressly sent by the grand seignior, the master of the universe, and refuge of the world, to order them to deliver up to us all such slaves as are under their miserable government, that they may be presented before his supreme and august throne. This is his pleasure, and his design in sending us with this squadron. If you fail to obey, dreadful punishments will make you repent your fault. Send your answer to Tunis.”

THIS

THIS stile, so agreeable to the pride of the grand seignior's officers, did not however hinder the grand master from answering the letter, in hopes that it might be of use in procuring the deliverance of some Christian slaves. The tenor of his letter, which was wrote with politeness and dignity, was as follows :

“ That the design of his order was not to scour the  
 “ seas in the view only of making slaves, but to cruise  
 “ with their ships for securing the liberty of the seas to  
 “ all Christian vessels; that they attacked such only as  
 “ disturbed commerce, and who deserved to be made  
 “ slaves for endeavouring to make the Christians so:  
 “ that they had nothing so much at heart as the deli-  
 “ very of such of theirs as were in slavery, and that if  
 “ his highness was in the same disposition, they were  
 “ ready to enter into a treaty for restoring the slaves  
 “ on both sides to their liberty, either by way of ex-  
 “ change or ransom, as was generally practised among  
 “ princes; and that if his highness would let them  
 “ know his intentions, they should not be wanting  
 “ on their part to second them.”

THIS answer was directed to the marquiss of Bonac, the French ambassador at Constantinople, with  
 1723. a desire that he would deliver it to any minister of the porte whom he should judge proper. The French ambassador, judging, by the contents of the letter, and the delicacy with which it was wrote, that the grand master's design was not so much to answer the commodore of a squadron, as to communicate his intentions to the grand seignior himself by his first minister, sent it to the grand vizier. Some days after he spoke to him about it, and was agreeably surprised to find him disposed not only to make an exchange of slaves, but to enter into a treaty of peace with the order of Malta. The marquiss of Bonac, persuaded that such a peace would be of great advantage to all Christendom in general, as well as to the order in particular, laboured at it with great application, and prevailed so far with the grand vizier, whom he had wrought up-  
 on

on by his probity and sincerity, more than by the superiority of his genius, that all the articles which he proposed were agreed to. This being done, he sent them to the grand master, and wrote to the court of France, upon the same subject, which, after a mature examination, sent him orders to continue his endeavours to bring the affair to a happy conclusion.

THE grand master had the proposals of the porte examined, and sent his observations on them to M. de Bonac. They chose rather to make a limited truce than a peace; they took all the necessary precautions to keep the order from all manner of stain or reproach, and the grand vizier agreed to every thing. The articles stipulated between them were,

1. THAT the slaves should be exchanged on both sides, and that if there should be more on one side than on the other, the supernumerary ones should be delivered at the rate of 100 pieces of eight per head.

2. THAT this exchange should extend no further than to such slaves only as had been taken by the ships of the Maltese and the grand seignior.

3. THAT the truce should continue for 20 years, at the expiration of which time, they might treat for another.

4. THAT the republics of Africa should not be comprehended in the treaty, and that the porte should not give them any succour, either directly or indirectly, against Malia.

5. THAT the Maltese should have the same privileges as the French in all the grand seignior's dominions.

6. THAT the treaty should be null, whenever any Christian prince should be at war with the porte.

THE news of this treaty was received at Constantinople with great applause. But the captain basha, resenting that an affair which related to the sea should be treated without first consulting him, engaged all the sea officers to oppose it. They carried their point so far as to make the grand vizier change his note, who, seeing

seeing their universal discontent, did not care to carry the negotiation further. However, he told the marquis of Bonac, that he had not changed his views, and that it would be an easy matter to bring that affair on foot again, by only taking certain measures to gain the consent of the sea officers, whose own interest would infallibly oblige them to give into the scheme.

DURING this negotiation, the account of which I though. it would not be proper to interrupt, the grand master, upon advice that a Tunis man of war was cruising in company with a tartan, between the isles of Maritimo and Panteleria, and had taken two barks, viz. one of Sicily, and the other of Genoa, sent the St. John man of war, and a frigate, to look out for them. They meet the corsairs, who pursue them for some time to reconnoitre them, but afterwards think fit to stand off, and endeavour to get from them. The Maltese frigate comes up with the ship; and, after exchanging broadsides for four hours together, forces it to strike. This ship was an excellent sailer, and had been given by the grand seignior to the bay of Tripoli, who had made her his patronne. She was mounted with 48 guns, and 14 brass pattereroes, with 400 men on board, of which no more than 267 Turks survived. Three and thirty Christian slaves recover their liberty on this occasion. This important victory was owing to the valour of the chevalier de Chambray who commanded the frigate. The St. John man of war pursued the tartan and took it, and both the prizes were brought to Malta.

POPE benedict XIII. is desirous of giving the grand master and the order of Malta a distinguishing  
1725. mark of his affection. He dispatches a gentleman of his bed-chamber to Malta, to present that prince with a long rapier,\* and a helmet which he had consecrated

\* THE rapier is a silver sword gilt, about five foot long. The helmet is a kind of cap of purple velvet, embroidered with gold, and embellished with an holy ghost of pearls.

crated at Christmas with great solemnity. The present is received with all possible acknowledgements by the grand master, who considers it as a new motive to signalize himself more and more in the practice of all the virtues which have so justly gained him the respect of his brother knights, the friendship of the princes of Europe, and the paternal tenderness of his holiness.

A  
DISSERTATION  
UPON THE  
Ancient and Modern GOVERNMENT  
OF THE  
Religious and Military ORDER  
OF  
St. JOHN of JERUSALEM.

**T**HOUGH an history of this order ought naturally to give an account of the first constitutions, statutes, and original form of its government, yet a series of time, and a variety of conjunctures, have insensibly occasioned changes therein, which are unavoidable in the condition of human nature; and it would betray a gross ignorance of the inconstancy and weakness of mankind, to offer to judge of the present constitution of a state by its ancient customs, and the practice of the first ages after its establishment.

THIS consideration determined me, for the entire satisfaction of the reader, to annex, at the end of this work, a particular discourse upon the present state of the order of Malta. I shall first treat of the several classes into which the order is divided. My next enquiry shall be into the proofs of noble descent that are required in order to be admitted into the first class. Afterwards shall follow a particular account of the nature  
of

of the commandries, and the qualities requisite to be intitled to them. From thence I shall pass to the dignities which give a right of sitting either in the general chapter, or in the council, and shall add, at the end of this article, a list of the principal offices of the order, and of the persons that have the right of nomination to them : and this treatise will conclude with the form observed in the election of the grand master, a dignity of a singular nature, which, whosoever is invested with enjoys an entire sovereignty, and all the royalties of a prince over the secular inhabitants at the same time that, with regard to the knight, he is considered only as the head and superior of a religious and military republic.

THE church has in its bosom various orders of religious, who, without exercising the same functions, have all of them their particular merit in the sight of God, and who, by their variety, contribute, each in his respective way, to the ornament and beauty of the church. Some sequestering themselves voluntarily from the conversation of mankind, buried as it were in solitude, and wrapped up in their own virtue, spend their days in the contemplation of eternal truths. Others more conversant in the world apply themselves chiefly to the instruction of their neighbour, and contribute to the easing the care of pastors, when called into their assistance in the ecclesiastical ministry. There are some so enflamed with zeal for the conversion of infidels, that they go to the farthest parts of the earth to preach the gospel. The same zeal, but acted by a charity of another kind, made a body of gentry, some ages ago, take up arms to preserve the Christians from being made slaves by the Mahometans and infidels; and it is of the form of government of this last kind of religious, whose history I have just concluded, that I am going to give an account of in this place.

## ARTICLE I.

*Of the several classes of religious in the order of St. John.*

THE hospitallers, considered merely as religious, are divided into three classes, all of them different from one another, with respect to birth, and rank, and functions. The first class consists of those whom they call knights of justice, i. e. as the formulary of their profession expresses it, such, the ancient nobility of whose descent merits their being admitted to that degree of honour; and none but these are qualified to be advanced to the dignities of bailiffs and priors, whom they call grand crosses, or to that of grand master. Time, which is too frequently the author of abuses and irregularities, has introduced a practice of admitting other persons into the rank of knights of justice, who are not qualified like them, and who are called knights of grace; they being such as being descended of fathers of noble extraction, but of mothers of ignoble or plebeian birth, have endeavoured to throw a veil over this notorious defect by a papal dispensation.

THE second class comprehends the religious who are chaplains, and belonging in that capacity to the metropolitan church of St. John, where they perform divine service. Out of this body they generally take their chaplains, both for the great hospital of Malta, and for the ships and gallies of the order; and they exercise the same function in the grand master's chapel. Notwithstanding that, in all the states of Christendom, the clergy have the first rank, on account of the dignity of their ministry, nevertheless the knights, though but mere laymen, take place of the priests, and have all the authority in their hands; "quia omnis potestas residet in primatibus." We do not find any instance of the like government, but among the brothers of the charity, another order of hospitallers, where the religious, who are priests and ministers at the

the altar, are so far from having any share in the government, that they are entirely dependent on superiors who are meer laymen.

WHAT they call the third class comprehends the serving brothers of arms, a body of religious, who, without being either priests or knights, are nevertheless obliged, whether they are in the field, or in the infirmary, to serve under the orders of the knights, and, like them, make four caravans of six months each on board the ships of the order. This body of half knights, if we may give them that name, was formerly very numerous and considerable, and did great services to the order. There were likewise of old a certain number of commandries designed for them, which the chaplains and the serving brothers of arms still enjoy in common at this day, they falling either to the one or the other according to their seniority. But for some years past, the number of serving brothers of arms is very much lessened, and a decree has been made to suspend the admitting of any more till further orders.

I PASS over the priests of obedience, who, without being obliged ever to go to Malta, receive the religious habit, make their vows in form, and are afterwards fixed in the particular service of some church of the order, under the authority of a grand prior, or a commander. There are still at Malta some serving brothers de stage, a kind of vassals employed in the meanest offices of the convent and hospitals; details of so little consequence that I do not think it proper to trouble the reader with them. But this account would be imperfect if I did not speak of the religious dames of this order, of which there are several nunneries in France, Italy, and Spain. These nuns, before they can be received, are obliged to give the same proofs of their noble descent as the knights of justice: there are even some famous nunneries, as that of Sixene in Arragon, and Dalgoveira in Catalonia, in which the proofs of

gentility,<sup>2</sup> which would be allowed of for the reception of a knight, would not yet be sufficient for a nun of the choir; and in those two houses they insist on such a purity and antiquity of gentility in a lady who offers herself, that it exceeds the degrees which the statutes require for the reception of the knights of justice.

## ARTICLE II.

### *Of the reception of the brother knights.*

**I**F we take the word chevalerie or chivalry, in the general notion that first presents itself, it is a profession of serving on horseback in war, which, among most nations, has been always a mark of gentility, to distinguish persons of a noble extraction from those of a plebeian birth. The quality of chevalier or knight was in the middle age confined to such noble persons, as either before or after an engagement, had deserved to receive the order of chivalry or knighthood from their general, as a testimony and recompence of their valour: and it was generally conferred in the field, by the general's giving them a kiss, and girding a sword about them. But this honourable distinction was never granted but to martial men, descended from antient knights, and of a military extraction, "ad militarem honorem," says the emperor Frederic II. "nullus accedat, qui non sit de genere militum." Here are two kinds of knighthood, the one entirely of descent, "genus militare;" the other meerly personal, "militaris honos." Theodore Hæping speaks of this latter knighthood, which is to be acquired only by a man's own valour, when he says, that no body is born a knight: "nemo eques nascitur, sed per habentem potestatem solitâ sub formulâ." So Peter de la Vigne, in his life of the emperor Frederic, above mentioned, says

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<sup>2</sup> N. B. The word gentility, which is made use of in several places in the translation, is, in the original, noblesse or nobility.

expressly, “ licet generis nobilitas in posteros derivetur, non tamen equestris dignitas.” To prevent confounding these two kinds of knighthood, the one which a man derives merely from his ancestors, and the other, which he acquires only by his own warlike exploits, some historians of the middle age have employed the term (*milites*) to signify knights who were ancestors of the person they speak of, and use that of (*eques*) only to distinguish the person who actually has received the order of knighthood.

THE knights of St. John of Jerusalem, in their military institution, kept strictly to this usage. All the remains we have in France, and in the registers of the priories of the three languages of this nation, of the names of the old knights of that order, shew plainly that they were all descended from warlike ancestors and gentlemen both by name and the arms they bore. But as in process of time different customs arose, and that every nation fancied they had a right to determine, and even extend the nature of gentility, as well as fix the proofs of it, the chief magistracies, and several civil officers, have obtained in France and Italy the same advantages as a gentility wholly military, so that in those two nations they actually receive persons for knights who would be refused in Germany. This obliges me to enter into a detail of the different proofs which are required in most of the languages to shew the nobility of all such presentees as offer themselves to be admitted into the order in quality of knights of justice : and as the kingdom of France alone comprehends three languages<sup>a</sup>, and consequently furnishes more knights than any other country, I shall give a short account of the different rules which they have observed at different times in the reception of the knights.

IF we may give credit to persons who are well skilled in heraldry, the use of coats of arms is derived from the crusades. So many crosses of different figures, as we see in the escutcheons of the ancient gentry are a sufficient proof of this fact : and the colours, the enamels,

<sup>a</sup> Provence, Auvergne, France.

mels, the vaire, and the contrevaire that we meet there, owe their original to the furs which those warriors used for an ornament to their coats of arms. The generality of them went to the holy land on purpose to receive the order of knighthood; and they thought themselves more than recompensed for the perils and fatigues of so long a voyage, if in any battle fought against the infidels, they had but received the kiss from a prince or general and been dubbed a knight. The military order, whose history I have been writing, was founded upon the same principle, and formed upon the same model. They admitted none for knights but such as before their entrance into the order, had either themselves been graced with that title, or who were at least descended of ancient knights: so that we may look upon this part of the order of St. John, as a crusade composed entirely of gentry. Anciently Jerusalem and the holy land were the only places where they received all such knights as dedicated themselves to this holy order of knighthood. We find, that gentlemen sent their sons thither very young to be brought up in the head convent of the order, in hopes that they would be there formed alike for piety, and the art of war; but they never received these young gentlemen, unless they brought with them an authentic testimony of their noble extraction, attested by the priors of the country where they were born: and before their setting out, these priors were likewise to give them letters of recommendation, and a promise that they should receive the habits of the order, and be admitted to make their vows, as soon as ever they came to the statutable age for being made knights, which among the seculars was settled at the twentieth year. “Nullus” says a statute of the order made in 1144, “ex hospitali miles fieri requirat, nisi, antequam habitum religionis assumeret, extiterit ei promissum: et tunc quando in illa erit constitutus ætate, in qua secularis officii miles possit fieri: nihilominus tamen filii nobilium in domo hospitali nutriti, cum ad ætatem militarem  
“per-

“ pervenerint de voluntate magistri & præceptoris,  
 “ & de consilio fratrum poterunt militia insigniri.”

WE have already observed, that the young knights were at first received in no other place but at the head convent of the order ; but the recruits they wanted to supply the place of such as were continually losing their lives in fighting against the infidels, obliged the chapters and supreme councils of the order to consent, that they might, after the proofs of their gentility had been examined, give the habit to novices in the grand priories on this side the sea ; and as the ill practice of contracting unequal marriages with women of mean birth and condition, had not yet crept into noble families, all the attestations of the gentility of the presentee went no farther than the mentioning his father and mother's name, who were justly supposed to be descended of gentlemen by name as well as arms. A proof of this may be seen in the list that will be given at the end of this discourse, when it will appear, that in 1355, the date where the oldest registers of the grand priory of France begin, they never received any body but gentlemen whose names and families were known, and even distinguished in their several provinces.

BUT this very gentry, which till that time had preserved itself un sullied, being reduced to narrow circumstances by expences that are unavoidable in war, was soon forced for their support, to prostitute as it were their noble blood by contracting marriages below them : and lords and gentlemen by name as well as arms, began to debase themselves in marrying rich plebeians. The fear, lest these unequal matches should bring the order in contempt by the reception of knights descended of them, engaged the whole body to make a regulation, requiring that an authentic instrument should be drawn up in writing with legal proofs, to shew the legitimacy and descent of the person presented ; and the like proofs were to be produced with respect to his father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, great grandfather and great grand mother, for upwards of an hundred years, with a blazon of these eight quarters  
 annexed

annexed to the instrument ; and the person presented, was likewise to prove that his great grandfathers had been generally reputed gentlemen of name as well as arms. This last article of the statute is still in force at this day, or is at least kept up in the form of the instrument. But the proof of this last qualification required with respect to the great grandfathers does not seem to be very easy to be given in France, by knights who have no other stem from whence they can derive their gentility, but a petty secretary of the king's<sup>a</sup>, a gentleman of the town-hall, a mayor or alderman of some of those towns which entitle their magistrates to the rank of gentlemen : and I cannot possibly comprehend how a man, who has no other source of his gentility but one of these offices, which after all convey it no lower than a grandson, can be employed in a genealogy in the proofs of a great grandfather as if he was a gentleman by name as well as arms ; how he can pass for a gentleman of ancient race who stopped by dint of money only the plebeian blood that was creeping in his veins, and who was never seen to draw his sword in the service of his country. Nor is it less difficult to account for, how the quality required in a grandfather of being a gentleman by name as well as arms, can sometimes be applied to a tradesman who is ennobled by an office in the law, without giving an unnatural and forced interpretation to that title, and it is very extraordinary to pretend, that a magistrate's robe ought to be put upon the same level with a warrior's coat of arms, and to annex the privileges of true nobility to that robe.

HOWEVER, notwithstanding this difficulty, which after all arises only from an unwillingness to alter any thing in the old stile of the statutes, we must needs own that they are very exact and strict with respect to the proofs which they require of gentility for the eight quarters of the presentee. These proofs must be testimonial, literal, local and secret, which it will be proper for us to explain in a more particular manner.

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<sup>a</sup> Un noble de la cloche.

THE first proof is called testimonial, because it arises from the testimony of four persons of noble extraction, who ought to be gentlemen of name as well as arms. The commissioners, who are generally old commanders, make them take a solemn oath to speak the truth, and likewise interrogate them separately. If there be any thing that can makethis kind of proof suspected it is, that in France, the person presented, or his relations, generally provide these witnesses.

THE second proof is called literal, because it is taken from writings, deeds, contracts, acknowledgements of tenures, and surveys which the person presented produces : upon which it may be proper to observe, that though marriage, writings, and wills are necessary to a full proof of the descent and statuteness of the person presented, yet these kind of writings are not sufficient to prove his gentility, by reason of the opportunity notaries have of furnishing the parties contracting with any titles and qualities which they please to bestow on themselves, without ever examining whether they are really due to them or not. But in defect of these writings, which amount to no more than a bare declaration, without any legal proof, they have recourse to the partition of lands of a noble tenure, to deeds of guardianship, to grants of the wardship of lands held in capite, to acts of fealty and homage, to acknowledgements of vassalage and surveys, to commissions, warrants, and grants of posts and dignities that either imply gentility, or entitle a man to it, to summons for attending the king in the field, and lastly, to monuments, epitaphs, coats of arms, glass-windows, and ancient escutcheons in churches.

THE third proof is called local, because the commissioners are obliged to go to the very place of the person's nativity, and when they are desirous of being exact, they ought to go likewise into the country from whence this family came originally, and to the very place whence these his ancestors came who he pretends were gentlemen by name as well as arms ; or, if this place is very remote, and lies in another priory, to

send

send to the prior of that district to make the enquiries, and take the examinations necessary in this case.

THE fourth kind of proof is derived from a secret enquiry, which the commissioners make unknown to the person presented. They do not insist, that the witnesses should be gentlemen like the four first; in this choice, regard is only had to their probity. When these four kinds of proofs appear to be substantial, and consistent with one another, the commissioners draw up an instrument in form containing an account of them, which is carried to the chapter of the priory; from thence it passes into the hands of two new commissioners, who examine whether all the rules prescribed by the statutes have been exactly observed in these informations; and when it appears that nothing has been omitted, this instrument with its proofs, and the blazon of the eight quarters, is sent to Malta, from whence there comes a warrant to give the habit of the order to the presentee. We have already observed, that with regard to the three languages of the kingdom of France, viz. Provence, Auvergne, and France, the statutes and the present practice require that the presentee prove his great grandfathers by the father and mother's side were gentlemen by name as well as arms; which forms, as was before observed, the eight quarters of gentility.

IN the language of Italy they are obliged to produce no more than four quarters: but every one of these, viz. that of the father and mother, and that of the grand mother by the father and mother's side, must have a known gentility of 200 years, and it must be proved that every one of these four families have had the quality of gentlemen for 200 years past. In like manner they require only the blazon and the arms of these four families, without going, as they do in France, so far upwards as the great grandmother. We must likewise observe with regard to the language of Italy, that in the commonwealths of Genoa and Lucca, and the grand duke's territories, traffic, and the trade of banking, are not any way derogatory to a person as in the  
other

other priories of the same language, and in all the other languages of the order. We are told that they are not a jot more scrupulous upon this article at Rome and all over the pope's dominions, than they are at Genoa and Florence; upon which the following reflection may very well be made, viz. that this is making knights of a very base alloy.

WITH regard to the languages of Arragon and Castile, the candidate is first to present the names of his four quarters, i. e. of his father and mother, and his grandmothers both by the father and mother's side, and to express in his petition the places from whence these four families originally came: whereupon the chapter of the priory to which he applies himself dispatch some commissioners secretly to go upon the spot, and inform themselves whether these families are reputed noble, and whether they do not descend originally from Jewish or Mahometan ancestors. If the report of these secret commissioners is favourable to the presentee, they appoint others to take authentic informations from the lords and persons of the greatest quality in each quarter: and these commissioners usually take all care possible to surprise such as they have a mind to interrogate, that they may not be prepared before-hand. The depositions of these lords and gentlemen are judged to be sufficient, and they do not insist on writings or settlements as in France. So that all the proof of gentility in the provinces of Spain, consists in informations and interrogatories with respect to the four quarters. They however do not fail to visit the churches where there are any monuments, epitaphs, or other marks of honour of the ancestors of the presentee, and to examine whether their coats of arms are the same with his. For besides the authentic proof which they insist on of the religion and gentility of the presentee from the fourth generation, he is obliged to present on a sheet of paper an escutcheon bearing quarterly the arms of the four families which he produces of the proof of his gentility.

WITH regard to Portugal, which makes part of the language of Castile, they have no occasion to take the secret and preliminary informations concerning the quality of the families of the four quarters; because, by virtue of an old custom established by the kings of that nation, the names of all the noble families of the kingdom are carefully preserved in public registers; and if the four quarters from which the candidate pretends to be descended are not inserted in them, they never proceed to the public information.

THERE is not in the whole order of Malta any language or nation where the proofs are more rigorous, or made with greater exactness than in Germany. In this the natural sons and bastards of sovereign princes are not admitted to be knights of justice, as is practised in the other languages. The legitimate children also of chief magistrates, though their families have been always reputed noble, are in like manner excluded, because their gentility is deemed to be a civil gentility, and for that reason unqualified to enter into a body where they admit only a military gentility by name as well as arms: and the custom of the language of Germany is to insist on proofs of sixteen quarters before any knight can be received, and the very same proofs which they require in the noble collegiate bodies of that nation. The gentlemen that depose as witnesses assert upon oath, that these sixteen quarters are very noble; that the genealogy which the candidate has given in is a faithful one, and proved by authentic writings, and that all the quarters produced are of families already received in the assemblies of the circles, and qualified to be admitted into all the noble collegiate bodies. The blood from which a man must be descended, ought to run in a very pure stream, and all the alliances of it must be very noble, otherways there is no making proof of these sixteen quarters. And, at the same time, they are so very rigid in this language, that they would not let a single quarter pass that had been refused in any collegiate body: which has given occasion to a saying, viz. that if a son of the grand seignior's

was to be converted, and desire to be received as a knight in the language of Germany, he could not be admitted in it, as well for want of legitimacy, as for the difficulty he would have to prove sixteen quarters on the woman's side.

WHEN a knight hath made all his proofs, he may be received at three different ages. He is received as of age at sixteen, though he is not obliged to go to Malta till he is twenty, and he pays about 260 crowns of gold, worth about an hundred pence each, for his passage-fees. Secondly, they may enter themselves as pages to the grand master, and are received as such at twelve years of age, and quit it at fifteen: the passage-fees for a young page are almost the same as those which are paid when a person is received of age. In fine, within these hundred years they have made knights of minority, children in their very cradles; a very modern practice, which the passion of parents for the advancement of their children has rendered very common: the occasion of it shall be related in few words.

WHEN the order was in possession of the isle of Rhodes, there was, in the city of that name, a place called the Collachium, or the Cloister, a quarter set apart for the lodgings of the religious only, and divided from the dwellings of the secular inhabitants. In the general chapter held at Malta in 1631, it was resolved, that they should build a cloister of the same nature; a project which could not be put in execution without a fund of 100,000 crowns. As the treasury was very low, they resolved, for the supplying of what was wanting, to grant an hundred dispensations for receiving a hundred young children into the order, upon condition that they gave a thousand crowns a piece for their passage-fees, besides some other small fees. These hundred dispensations were presently filled; but the Collachium was not built: the money arising from this scheme was employed upon other occasions, and this contrivance has been found to be so convenient, that, in default of a general chapter, they have recourse to the authority of the popes, the first superiors of the

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order,

order, who, by particular briefs which they issue out, authorise this reception of minors, on condition of paying 322 pistoles and a third, at the current rate of Spanish pistoles for their passage-fees. This entrance-money is called passage-fees, and owes its original to a sum of money which a young gentleman, who was desirous of going to take the habit at Jerusalem, or at Rhodes, formerly paid to the master that carried him thither.

THIS is pretty near the form observed in the reception of the knights of justice, and in the proofs which are required of their gentility. As for the chaplains or conventual brothers, and the serving brothers of arms, who are not tied up to such kind of proofs, they are however obliged to shew that they are born of honest parents, who never were servants, or practised any vile or mechanic art; that their fathers, mothers, and grandfathers, by both father and mother's side, as well as they themselves, were all born in lawful wedlock. These serving brothers, whether of the church or of arms, though born of parents who had no title to gentility, do nevertheless, in quality of religious, make up part of the body of the order in conjunction with the knights of justice, and are called to the grand master's election in which they have their votes. The chaplains have this further advantage, viz. that the bishop of Malta, and the prior of the church of St. John, are taken out of their body, and have the first place in council after the grand master, or, in his absence, after his lieutenant. But they are the only persons of these two last classes who have any share in the government, all the authority being lodged in the hands of the knights of justice. However, to make them some amends, they have assigned them some commandries, to which they succeed by turns, according to their rank and seniority from the time of their reception: they are likewise entertained, and have their table like the knights in the inns of their respective languages.

THERE are at Malta seven palaces, which they call inns, where all the religious, both knights and serving brothers,

brothers, and the novices of the seven languages, as well as such as are actually professed, have their tables. The commanders, who are supposed to be rich enough to subsist on the revenues of the ircommandries, are very seldom there: every head or pillier of an inn has a considerable apartment in it. The treasury of the order furnishes him a sum either in money, corn or oil for the diet of the religious of his inn. His own particular table is served with a plenty that spreads itself over the tables about it: but with all this the religious would often make but sorry cheer, if the pillier of the inn did not, out of his own purse, supply what was wanting in the allowance from the treasury. But as those who have the keeping of the inn, have a right to the first dignity that becomes vacant in their language, they all strive, either by thriftiness, or by borrowing of their friends, to procure wherewithal to keep house with credit. Whenever the inn becomes vacant, either by the pillier's death, or by his promotion to an higher dignity, the oldest knight of the language succeeds him. They have no regard whether he is a commander or a private knight; all they consider is only whether he be the senior knight of his language; that he owe nothing to the treasury; and in case he enjoys any of the orders estates, that he has made improvements on them, and given in his terrier, or account of their rents; that he has kept a ten year's residence in the convent; in fine, that he, by virtue of his seniority, has demanded the vacant dignity, which, though it be burdensome, is nevertheless always courted, because it is ever a path that leads to another, which has revenues sufficient to make them an ample satisfaction for all the expence they have been at.

'Tis for the same reason that some young knights, as soon as they have made their caravans, desire leave to fit out gallies, in hopes of getting a commandry the sooner. For though the order is always at part of the expence of such armaments, it nevertheless costs these young knights very considerable sums out of their own pockets, in the hopes they entertain of being indemni-

fied by a commandry of courtesy, which they generally receive from the bounty of the grand masters.

FOR the defraying of so many different expences, as the order is obliged to be at, either for the maintenance of the knights, the support of the hospital, or the keeping up of forces by sea and land, they have funds arising from the prizes which they take from the infidels, from the passage-fees, mortuaries, and revenues of vacant dignities. A mortuary is the personal estate of a deceased knight, and if he be a commander, it takes in the revenue of the rest of the year from the time of his death to the first of May following. The profits of vacancies go likewise to the order, and continue a year longer. In fine, the most substantial revenue the order has, consists in the responsions which they levy upon the priories, bailiwicks, and commandries: employments and dignities, each of which will now be treated of in particular.

### A R T I C L E III.

*Of the dignities, priories, bailiwicks, and commandries appropriated to the knights of justice.*

**I**N the history preceeding this dissertation, we have seen that the order is divided into eight languages, viz. Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Arragon, England, Germany and Castile, to each of which a particular dignity is annexed. Provence enjoys that of great commander. The marshal is always taken from that of Auvergne. The language of France has that of great hospitaller. The admiral is taken from that of Italy. The drâpier, who is now stiled the great conservator, is of the language of Arragon. The turcopolier, or general of the horse, was formerly of the language of England; but since the change of religion in that kingdom, the grand master's seneschal is invested with this title. The post of grand bailiff belongs to the language  
of

of Germany, and that of great chancellor to the language of Castile.

IN the language of Provence there are two priories, viz. St. Giles and Toulouse, with the bailiwick of Manosque. There are 54 commandries in the priory of St. Giles, and 35 in the grand priory of Toulouse.

THE language of Auvergne has but one grand priory, which bears the same name, and the bailiwick of Lyons, which was antiently called the bailiwick of Lurveul : there are 40 commandries of knights, and eight of serving brothers within this priory.

THE language of France has three grand priories. The grand priory of France contains 45 commandries, that of Aquitain 65, and the grand priory of Champagne 24.

THERE is likewise in the same language, the bailiwick of the Morea, the title of which is annexed to St. John de Lateran at Paris, and the post of great treasurer united to the commandry of St. John de Corbeil.

IN Italy, the grand prior of Rome has 19 commandries under him, the prior of Lombardy 45, the prior of Venice 27, the priors of Barletto and Capua have 25 together, the prior of Messina 12, the prior of Pisa 26, and the bailiffs of St. Euphemia, St. Stephen's of Monopoli, the Trinity of Venusia, and of St. John de Naples, are comprehended in the language of Italy.

ARRAGON, Catalonia, and Navarre, compose the language of Arragon.

THE grand prior of Arragon, commonly called in history the Castellan of Emposta, has 29 commandries within his district, the prior of Catalonia 28, and the prior of Navarre 17 : the bailiwick of Majorca is of this language, and the bailiff of Caps in Africa depends likewise upon it. But this bailiwick has been lost to the order ever since the loss of Tripoli and its adjoining territory.

THE language of England and Scotland, comprehended formerly the priory of England, or of St. John of London, and that of Ireland : there were in this priory

priory 32 commandries, besides the bailiwick of l'Aigle, or of the Eagle.

THE grand prior of Germany is prince of the holy Empire, and resides at Heitershexm. He has in High as well as Low Germany, 67 commandries in his dependence, besides the priors of Bohemia and Hungary, and the bailiwick of Sonneberg, which is now in the hands of the Lutherans.

CASTILE, the kingdoms of Leon and Portugal, compose what is called the language of Castile. Under the priors of Castile and Leon are 27 commandries, and that of Portugal, called the priory of Crato, has 31, besides the bailiwick of la Bouëde. The title (in partibus) of the bailiff of Negrepont, is common to the languages of Castile and Arragon: so that there are actually near 500 commandries in the order, besides the priories and bailiwicks. The commandries, and all the estates of the order, in what country soever they live, are the property of the body of the order. Formerly they were let out to receivers and secular farmers, who paid the rent of their leases to the common treasury: but as the city of Jerusalem, and afterwards the isle of Rhodes, lay at a great distance, these secular farmers took advantage of it, and proved very unfaithful, for which reason the management of these estates were afterwards entrusted to the grand priors in their several districts: This was at first no more than a trust and a bare administration; but they soon began to consider it as their property, and under one pretence or other, and sometimes without any at all, they consumed all revenues of the order. This male-administration obliged the general chapters, and, in their default, the council to have recourse to a new expedient: they appointed a knight of known probity and disinterestedness to superintend over each particular mannour or portion of estate which the order had in the same canton or district. But they held this administration from the council only (*durante beneplacito.*) The order likewise sometimes required him to take care of the education of some young knights probationers, and there was always

ways a brother chaplain to say mass in this little community. They were forbidden going beyond the limits of their house, without leave first obtained from the knight who was the superior of it ; and such as were found to transgress were arrested and put in prison. This superior, in antient writings, was called Preceptor, and afterwards commander ; a name which imported no more than that the education of these young knights, and the management of the possessions of the order were recommended to his care. He was impowered to take out of these revenues a portion sufficient for the subsisting of his community, and assisting the poor of his district ; and he was obliged to send to the common treasury a certain sum yearly, which was always proportioned to the revenue of the commandry. This quit-rent was called a Responsion, the use of which is continued to this day : general chapters have a right of augmenting these responsions in times of war, and according to the wants and occasions of the order. I cannot say whether these little communities above mentioned were suppressed in order for the drawing off more considerable responsions from the commandries, or whether a spirit of division arising among them, they dwindled away of themselves. That which appears more certain is, that they left the administration of a commandry to a single knight, whom they sometimes required to pay certain pensions, which served in lieu of the sustenance he was obliged to furnish to those knights who dwelt with him. At last, to obviate all caballing, and pursuit of employments, which might have very fatal consequences in a military body, they resolved to confide the administration of these commandries to the knights, according to their seniority ; but in order to keep them still in that just dependence which they owed their superiors, they entrusted them with the commandries, on the foot only of a bare administration, for a certain time limited by the council, (*ad decem annos, et amplius, ad beneplacitum nostrum ;*) as the commissions issued out of the chancery of Malta for this purpose expressly declare  
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by which it is evident that these administrations might be taken away.

EXPRESSIONS in such positive and explicit terms, prove undeniably that commandries are no absolute possessions or benefices, but meer concessions for which the administrator was accountable to the public treasury of the order, and liable to be turned out in case either of male-administratton, or of irregularity in his life and conversation. The statutes (*de prohibitionibus & pœnis*) say expressly, that if a knight be justly suspected of entertaining a loose commerce with a woman, and continues it after having been admonished of it, he shall be immediately ejected from his commandry, and all other possessions of the order, and that without the least formality of trial or prosecution. The same penalty is denounced in this statute against duellers, usurers, all those who forswear themselves, and against all such receivers of the order as were guilty of any prevarication in their accounts. “*Statim, non expectatâ aliâ sententiâ, commendis, membris, & pensionibus privati censeantur, & sint.*”

BUT withal, from the same spirit of regularity and justice, if a commander has given no scandal to any one in his commandry; if he, like a good father of a family, has taken care of the estate entrusted to his administration; if he has been exact in paying the responses that are to be remitted into the common treasury; if he has taken all due care of, and rebuilt the churches and buildings that depended on his commandry; if he has made an exact terrar, i. e. given a just court-roll of all the lands that hold under his fiefs, in the terms prescribed by the statutes: in fine, if, agreeable to the spirit of his order and his own obligations, he has taken care of the poor; the order, like a good mother, takes care to reward his exactitude; and after five years continuance in such an administration, if any more considerable commandry falls vacant, allows him to (*emeutir* or) have his option of it in his turn, according to his seniority.

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BUT he is first of all, after having been five years in possession of his first commandry, to get his language to appoint commissioners to take an account of the good order in which they have found the buildings and the lands, and to draw it up in an instrument in form : this is called making his Improvements ; and if this verbal process be received and approved at Malta, the commander may be advanced to a richer commandry. 'Tis to this wise precaution that the order is indebted for the preservation of its estates and buildings : every commander, in hopes of acquiring a greater estate, taking the utmost care of that which is entrusted to his administration.

THE knights, besides the commandries, may arrive at the great dignities of the order, according to their seniority and merit. I have already spoke of the grand priors, who are the superiors of all the religious that reside within their priories. They are directed to have a watchful eye over their conduct, and to see that the possessions of the order be justly managed ; they preside in provincial chapters, and in their absence are to name a lieutenant, who, in that capacity, takes place of all the knights of the petty cross.

THERE are three kinds of bailiffs in the order, viz. the conventual, the capitulary, and the bailiffs by courtesy and " ad honores." The conventual bailiffs are so called, because they are bound to reside in the convent. They are chosen by the languages, and are likewise their chiefs, and pillars of the inus. They are the first knights after the grand master : and though this dignity generally " s'emeutisse," or passes by option according to seniority, they yet are not so absolutely tied up to this rule, but the languages and the council may take a liberty of chusing any person whom they think most deserving.

As the language of Provence is the first of the order,<sup>a</sup> it enjoys the first dignity in it, which is that of great commander. This conventual bailiff is, by his post, president of the public treasury, and the court of exchequer.

<sup>a</sup> Great commander.

exchequer. He has likewise the supreme direction of the magazines, the arsenal, and the artillery; he names their officers, with the good liking of the grand master and council, and he takes them out of what language he pleases. His authority extends even to the church of St. John, several officers of which he names: he has the same right in the infirmary, and chuses the petty commander, whose office is to assist in visiting the medicines of the hospital.

THE dignity of marshal<sup>a</sup> is the second of the order, and is annexed to the language of Auvergne, of which he is the chief and the pillier. In military affairs he commands all the religious, except the grand crosses, their lieutenants, and the chaplains. In time of war he gives the great standard of the order to any knight whom he thinks most worthy of it: he has a right of naming the first equerry; and when he is at sea, he commands the general of the galleys, and even the high admiral.

THE care of the poor and sick being the great design of the institution of the order, and the basis as it were of their profession, the treasury maintains an hospital at Malta, the charge of which amounts to 50,000 crowns per annum. This hospital is under the jurisdiction of the great hospitaller,<sup>b</sup> who is the third conventual bailiff, and the chief and pillier of the language of France. He nominates the overseer of the infirmary, who is always to be a knight of justice, the prior of the infirmary, and two scribes, all officers of but two years continuance, and presents them to the council for their approbation: but for all other employments about the hospital, he disposes of them by his sole authority.

THE admiral is chief of the language of Italy:<sup>c</sup> in the marshal's absence, and at sea he commands the soldiers as well as the seamen: he names the inspector and the scribe of the arsenal; and whenever he demands

<sup>a</sup> Great marshal.

<sup>b</sup> Great hospitaller.

<sup>c</sup> High admiral.

mands the generalship of the gallies, the grand master is obliged to propose it to the council, who either admit or refuse him as they see proper.

BEFORE England, Scotland and Ireland had separated from the church of Rome, and embraced the protestant doctrines, the turcopolier<sup>a</sup> was the chief of that language. He, in that quality, had the command of the cavalry and the marine guards. Turcopole was a word used antiently in the Levant, and signified a light horse, or kind of dragoon. As this dignity was abolished upon the seizure of the estates of the order in those isles, part of the functions of the turcopolier have been given to the grand master's seneschal.

THE grand bailiff is chief of the language of Germany.<sup>b</sup> His jurisdiction extends itself over the fortifications of the old city, the antient capital of the island. He hath the same authority over the castle of Goza; the grand bailiffs having, during the time that the order had the sovereignty of Rhodes, enjoyed the like post with regard to the castle of St. Peter in Caria, as may be seen in the history.

THE dignity of chancellor<sup>c</sup> is annexed to the pillier of Castile, Leon and Portugal. The chancellor presents the vice-chancellor to the council. He is obliged to be present when any bulls are sealed with the ordinary seal, and sign the originals himself. 'Tis expressly required by the 35 chapter de bajulis, that he be able to write and read.

BESIDES these conventual bailiffs, who are the chiefs and pilliers of the order, they have admitted the bishop of Malta, and the prior of the church of St. John, in the same quality; <sup>d</sup> these dignities are common to all the languages, and the prelates who enjoy them get over the default with respect to birth, "a defectu natalium," though they are chose out of the body of chaplains, who, by their rank, are excluded from all the dignities of the order.

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<sup>a</sup> The turcopolier.<sup>b</sup> The grand bailiff.<sup>c</sup> The high chancellor.<sup>d</sup> Bishop of Malta, and prior of the church.

THE emperor Charles V. in his deed of conveyance of the isles of Malta and Goza to the order, reserved to himself, and his successors in the kingdom of Sicily, the advowson of the bishoprick : and it was agreed, that in case of a vacancy of the see, the order should be obliged to present to him and his successors kings of Sicily, three religious in priests orders, one of which was to be born in Sicily, and that these princes should have the liberty of chusing any one of the three whom they should best approve.

THE prior of the church of St. John is deemed the prelate and ordinary of all the religious : he likewise officiates pontifically in his own church, and in all those of Malta, which are served by the chaplains of the order, and preceeds the bishop there. When this dignity becomes vacant, the council allow the chaplains to meet and confer about the choice of his successor. They even go so far as to vote for one : this being done, they carry the scrutiny to the council, who, without any regard to such as had the greatest number of voices in the meeting of the chaplains, determine, by their own votes, who shall succeed to this dignity, which gives the prior, in the same manner as the bishop, the first place in the chapters and councils, in quality of conventual bailiffs.

OF these seven conventual bailiffs, four at least ought always to be residents in the convent ; nor can any one of them be absent without leave from a full council. To obtain which, they must have at least two thirds of votes ; and, in their absence, the languages, who cannot be without their heads, name immediately lieutenants to supply their places. When one of these pillars is general of the gallies, and goes to sea, his language, notwithstanding his being absent for the service of the order, names in like manner his lieutenant, whose authority ceases as soon as ever the general returns into the harbour.

ALTHOUGH the capitulary bailiffs are not, like the conventual ones, obliged to an actual residence in the convent, yet there is no holding a general chapter with-

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out these great crosses, or their lieutenants. They are likewise obliged to assist at all provincial chapters, or at least to send a knight thither to represent them. This second kind of bailiffs are not capable of being made conventual bailiffs, because the one are to reside in the convent, and the others in the priory, where there bailiwick lies. Of all these capitulary bailiffs, there was not any one, the bailiff of Brandenburg excepted, who, like the grand priors, had any commanders under his jurisdiction. This bailiwick had formerly 13 that depended on it : but since its falling into the hands of the protestants, six of these commanderies have been suppressed by the Lutherans. There are however still seven left, whose titles and revenues are preserved ; but they are in the hands of the protestants. These Lutheran commanders however wear the cross, and assume the name of knights ; they likewise chuse their own bailiff, who names to the commanderies. Several of these pretended commanders have besought the grand masters to suffer them to be received at Malta, and make their caravans on board the gallies of the order : but the difference in worship was an invincible obstacle to their admission into a catholic society. Some, when they could not obtain leave to fight under the banner of the order, have, from a principle of conscience, gone to make their caravans in Hungary against the Turks, at the time when the country was the seat of war. 'Tis likewise said, that out of the same motive, they have sometimes sent considerable sums to Malta by way of responses ; but no regard was ever had to these seeming acts of submission, and attachment to the body of the order ; and the title of bailiff of Brandenburg is *emeuti*, or goes by opinion and seniority in the language of Germany, in the same manner as a great many other capitulary bailiwicks in the other languages of the order, notwithstanding the estates and revenues are actually possessed by the infidels or protestants. All these dignities were formerly common to all the languages in general, without any distinction, and lasted but from one general

chapter to the next; the chapter disposing of them to persons of the greatest merit. But since the end of the fourteenth century, they have been conferred on the languages only to which they were annexed. The knights, who were invested with them, wear upon their breast a great octangular cross of white linnen cloth, and take place of the knights of the little cross, though the latter should chance to be their seniors.

THE general chapters sometimes granted this honourable distinction to such private knights as had distinguished themselves by their valour against the infidels, and done any considerable services to the order: they were stiled bailiffs by courtesy. When there was no general chapter sitting, the grand master and the council named these bailiffs, "*ad honores*," and exercised this power for a long while: but as they were continually teased with recommendations from christian monarchs in favour of knights who indeed were born their subjects, but were not thought the most deserving in the order, the grand master and council, to get rid of these importunities, thought it best to give up their right. They fancied that they, by this wise precaution, should put a stop to the ambition of the knights, but that warm and restless passion put them upon other expedients; they employed the same kind of recommendation to the popes, who, justly considering themselves as the first superiors of all the religious orders, supplied the default and absence of a general chapter by their own authority. 'Tis true indeed, that the private knights or commanders, who thus get themselves made bailiffs by courtesy by the pope's briefs, do not acquire any particular privilege with regard to other promotions; for when any vacant commandries or dignities are to be disposed of, they have no right of preceding private knights who are their seniors: so that all they get by the recommendation of the princes who interpose in their behalf, is no more than the privilege of wearing the great cross, the right of sitting in the chapter and the council when they are at Malta, and the taking place of knights who are their seniors,

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in some assemblies, and days of ceremony : most of them empty honours, and that have nothing substantial in them.

#### ARTICLE IV.

*Of the general chapter, and different councils of the order.*

THE order of Malta, as it is now stiled, is a noble republic, partly resembling that of Venice in its government, which has more of an aristocracy than of any other form. The grand master, like another doge, presideth at the head ; but the supreme authority is vested in the general chapter, a tribunal established ever since the foundation of the order for the determining of their warlike preparations, and the redressing public and private grievances : they treat therein of all affairs, whether ecclesiastical, civil, or military ; they repeal and reform old statutes, when the observance of them is found inconvenient, and they make new ones, which subsist without appeal till the next chapter.

IN ancient times these famous assemblies were held regularly every five years : sometimes, if the exigence of affairs demanded it, they called them every three years ; but in process of time they came to meet only every ten years, and now there has not one been held for near an hundred years, to the great prejudice of their regular and military discipline. But as it may happen, which indeed were highly to be wished, that the zeal of the knights, and the wisdom and prudence of the grand masters, may revive the usage of them, we think it not improper to specify in this place what persons these great assemblies were composed of, and the form that was observed in them ; and that particularly, because the very same dignities, in default of a general chapter, give them a right of sitting in the councils.

WHEN all the chaplains were arrived from the several provinces of Christendom in the head convent of the

order, whether at Jerusalem, Rhodes, or Malta, the grand master, on the day fixed for opening the chapter, after hearing a mass of the Holy Ghost, entered the hall appointed for the assembly ; when he took his place under a canopy, upon a throne raised three steps from the ground, and the members of the chapter, who were dignitaries, to the number of 54, placed themselves on the two sides in the following order, viz.

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| 1. The bishop.   | 2. The prior of the church.                |
| 3. The great commander.                                      | 4. The marshal.                            |
| 5. The hospitaller.  | 6. The admiral.                            |
| 7. The great conservator.                                    | 8. The grand bailiff.                      |
| 9. The great chancellor.                                     | 10. The grand prior of St. Giles.          |
| 11. The grand prior of Auvergne.                             | 12. The grand prior of France.             |
| 13. The grand prior of Aquitaine.                            | 14. The grand prior of Champagne.          |
| 15. The grand prior of Toulouse.                             | 16. The grand prior of Rome.               |
| 17. The grand prior of Lombardy.                             | 18. The grand prior of Venice.             |
| 19. The grand prior of Pisa.                                 | 20. The grand prior of Barletto.           |
| 21. The grand prior of Messina.                              | 22. The grand prior of Capua.              |
| 23. The castellan of Emposta, or the grand prior of Arragon. | 24. The grand prior of Chrato or Portugal. |
| 25. The grand prior of England.                              | 26. The grand prior of Navarre.            |
| 27. The grand prior of Germany.                              | 28. The grand prior of Ireland.            |
| 29. The grand prior of Bohemia.                              | 30. The grand prior of Hungary.            |
| 31. The bailiff of St. Euphenia.                             | 32. The grand prior of Catalonia.          |

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| 33. The bailiff of Negrepont.         | 34. The bailiff of the Mo-<br>rea.        |
| 35. The bailiff of Venu-<br>fia.      | 36. The bailiff of St. Ste-<br>phens.     |
| 37. The bailiff of Major-<br>ca.      | 38. The bailiff of St. John<br>of Naples. |
| 39. The bailiff of Lyons.             | 40. The bailiff of Ma-<br>nosque.         |
| 41. The bailiff of Bran-<br>denburg.  | 42. The bailiff of Capfa.                 |
| 43. The bailiff of Lora.              | 44. The bailiff of Aquila.                |
| 45. The bailiff of Lango<br>and Leza. | 46. The bailiff of St. Se-<br>pulchre.    |
| 47. The bailiff of Cremo-<br>na.      | 48. The great treasurer.                  |
| 49. The bailiff of Neuvil-<br>las.    | 50. The bailiff of Acre.                  |
| 51. The bailiff of la Roc-<br>cella.  | 52. The bailiff of Arme-<br>nia.          |
| 53. The bailiff of Carlo-<br>stad.    | 54. The bailiff of St. Se-<br>bastian.    |

THE second day of the assembly of the chapter, the members chuse, by plurality of voices, three commanders of three different languages or nations, to examine the proxies of such as represent the languages and priories, or are deputed by the priors and bailiffs that are absent. When their powers have been examined and found good, they are admitted to give their votes; but if they are not drawn in due form, they are excluded the assembly. When the number of the members are settled, every one of them in his turn, according to his own rank, and that of his language, presents a purse with five pieces of money, as a mark of his perfect renunciation of all property. The marshal of the order, from the same principle, lays down the great standard, as do likewise the great officers the marks of their respective dignities, which they do not resume till after a new grant from the chapter is first obtained. This custom has been practised from time  
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immemorial in the order, and cannot be too highly esteemed, provided it be not degenerated into mere ceremony.

THEY appoint at the same time three commissioners of three different nations to receive petitions, which are usually presented during the three first days, and afterwards are either dispatched or rejected by the general chapter : but as the members that compose it are very numerous, and by that means it would take up too much time to examine every particular affair, they therefore refer the consideration and decision of them to a committee of sixteen of their members who are all commanders.

THE seven languages chuse each of them two by a plurality of voices, and the chapter chuse two more to represent the language of England. These sixteen commissioners being thus elected take an oath before the grand master, who, with the rest of the members of the chapter, make a reciprocal promise upon oath to accept and ratify all that shall be resolved on and determined by the sixteen.

THE committee withdraws to consider of the matters represented in these petitions to the chapter. But for fear lest these sixteen commanders should not be acquainted with the true interests of the order, and perhaps lest they should come to resolutions contrary to those of the grand master, his procurator, the vice-chancellor, and the secretary of the treasury are admitted into this particular assembly, but without any right of voting. The sixteen alone regulate, ordain, and judge absolutely, and without appeal, all matters which the chapter refers to their determination : and as these great assemblies are to continue sitting above a fortnight, if there happen to be any affairs left, which they had not time to terminate, they refer them to a new committee, which is called the council of reservations.

BESIDES this provisional and transient council, there are always, in default of a general chapter, four standing councils at Malta, viz. the ordinary, the complete, the secret, and the criminal councils.

THE ordinary council is composed of the grand master, the conventual bailiff, all the great crosses that are at Malta, the procurators of the languages and the most antient knight for that of England. In this council they decide all disputes that arise about receptions, pensions, commandries, dignities, and other matters relating to bulls granted by the order.

THE complete council differs from the ordinary council, only by the addition of two ancient knights for each language, who before they can have a seat in it must have resided at least five years in the convent. Appeals lie to this complete council from the sentences of the ordinary, as well as of the criminal council. 'Tis not long since they introduced a custom of appealing to Rome, whither, in default of a general chapter all affairs are intently carried. From the court of Rome come all dispensations, knights of minority, knights by courtesy, bailiffs and great crosses by courtesy: and there is just reason to apprehend, that their lavish bestowing courtesies on particular persons will at length ruin the whole body of the order.

IN the secret council, affairs of state, and all sudden and extraordinary cases that require an immediate consideration, are treated. When any weighty complaint is made against a knight or any other religious, 'tis laid before, and debated in the criminal council. The grand master or his lieutenant presides in all these councils, and he only has a right of proposing any matter for them to debate on. When they come to vote in any case, he has two ballots, and when the voices are equal, 'tis his that weighs down the scale.

THERE is still another council, which is commonly called the chamber of the treasury, of which the great commander, chief of the language of Provence by virtue of his office, is president. To defray the immense expences which the order is obliged to be at, they raise funds out of the responsions due from the priories, bailywicks and commandries, and from the passage-fees, mortuaries, and vacancies. A mortuary is the revenue of a commandry for the remaining part

of the year, from the day of the commander's decease to the first of May next ensuing, and they call the vacancy the revenue of the whole year, which begins at the said first of May, and ends on the same day of the year following. The prizes which they take from the infidels, are also reckoned among the casual revenues of the order. All these several funds are under the direction of the chamber of the treasury, which cannot meet without the great commander or his lieutenant: and if the great commander or his lieutenant are not satisfied with the debates in this court, they need only withdraw out of the chamber, and the session is immediately dissolved.

THE great commander has two procurators of the treasury for his colleagues, who were always chose out of the great crosses. The grand master and council change them every two years, but not both at once, that there may be always one left who is acquainted with the affairs and interests of the order. The grand master, in consideration of the interest he has in the just and exact administration of the revenues of the order, has a procurator in this chamber, who has a right of voting in it; and whenever he names him, he notifies it to the council.

THIS procurator, on account of the dignity of the person he represents, has his place in this council before the conventual conservator and the auditor of accompts. The chamber has a power of giving assignments to the value of 500 crowns, but when a warrant is to be issued for a more considerable sum, it must be laid before the council, who order it to be passed in the chancery.

THE high treasurer, or his lieutenant, hath a right of assisting at the accompts which are given to the common treasury. Antiently the treasurer was reckoned among the conventual bailiffs, and had the chest of the order in his keeping. But this function having been since assigned to the conventual conservator, and the bailiwick annexed to the language of Germany, the post of high treasurer is at present no more than a capitulary

capitulary bailiwick, appropriated to the language of France.

EACH language names every two years a knight to be auditor of the accompts ; but they must be confirmed by the ordinary council, where they take the oath for their office. They take their places according to the rank of the languages they represent : their business is to go to the chamber as often as they are summoned to be present, when accompts are given in by the receivers, and all such persons as are concerned in the administration of the possessions of the order.

IN treating of the conventual bailiffs we had occasion to speak of the great conservator. Antiently his office continued from one general chapter to another ; but since the time that those assemblies appeared to be suppressed, the complete council changes him every three years. He is taken out of all the languages by turns : his functions cease at the assembly of a general chapter, and are suspended during the vacancy of the mastership

THE post of secretary of the treasury is an office in which a vast deal of business is transacted. 'Tis he who makes up and balances the accompts in the presence of the two auditors. He gives out and pays all bills of exchange ; and as all the affairs of the treasury pass through his hands, they scarce ever change him but for very urgent reasons.

BEFORE the conventual and capitulary dignities were divided amongst the languages, the general chapters disposed of them in favour of persons of the greatest merit in the order, without regarding what nation they were of. But ever since the year 1466, they have been appropriated to particular languages : and the pillars or conventual bailiffs abovementioned, when they are not filled up, have a right of demanding the first dignities that become vacant : thus in the language of Provence, the great commander may demand either the grand priory of St. Giles, or the grand priory of Toulouse, or the bailiwick of Manosque. In the language

guage of Auvergne, the great marshal has a right to the grand priory of that name, or to the bailiwick of Lyons : but when he is once possessed of one of these dignities, he has no option with regard to any other. Notwithstanding that in the language of France, the commandries in its dependence are annexed to particular priories, nevertheless the high dignities appropriated to that language are common to all the knights of the three priories of the same language ; so that, independent from the priories, 'tis seniority alone that decides between the knights of the language of France, with respect to the grand priories of France, Aquitaine and Champaign ; of the bailiwick of the Morea, the residence of which is fixed at Paris at St. John of Lateran ; and of the post of treasurer, which is united to the priory of Corbeil.

IN the language of Italy, the dignities and commandries are in common. In the language of Arragon, which is composed of the knights of the kingdom of Catalonia and of Navarre, if the great conservator is an Arragonian or Valentian, he has a right to the Castellany of Emposta, otherwise called the grand priory of Arragon.

THE bailiwick of Majorca is common between the knights of Majorca and Catalonia : and the bailiwick of Capla is common to those of Arragon and Valencia ; they remove from this bailiwick to the Castellany of Emposta.

THE bailiwick of Negrepont, which at present is " in partibus," and in the hands of the Turks, is annexed alternately to the languages of Arragon and Castile : any one may resign it to take the inn, and they may likewise quit the inn by making their option of the same bailiwick.

THE dignity of grand bailiff is common between the knights of Germany, and those of the kingdom of Bohemia. It gives a right to the grand priory of Germany, a post of greater antiquity in the order, than that of grand bailiff.

THE chancellor may be made grand prior of Castile, who, when he is invested with that dignity, becomes a grandee of Spain. The grand priory of Crato is in Portugal; but the great chancellor cannot make it his option for fear of engaging in a dispute with the king of Portugal, who pretends that the advowson of that dignity belongs to his crown.

THE grand priory of Hungary might anciently have been challenged by the great commander, pillier of the language of Provence, and the same right was afterwards conveyed to the admiral, who is pillier of the language of Italy. But at present that dignity, by the abdication which the Italians made in 1603, is fallen to the language of Germany, and is common to the knights of that nation and those of Bohemia. Notwithstanding that the last emperors of Germany have recovered the best part of Hungary from the infidels, nevertheless the order has not been able to recover the possession of their priories and commandries in that kingdom, although cardinal Colonitz, an old knight of Malta took the utmost pains in that affair. The commandries of Dacia, depending on the grand priory of Hungary, are entirely lost.

ALTHOUGH the provinces of Transylvania, Walachia, and Moldavia, composed formerly the ancient Dacia, nevertheless, in the order of St. John, this name of Dacia, in the language of the middle age, was given to the kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden and Norway. We have seen in the preceeding history, that the grand master Dieu-donné de Gozon wrote, during his administration, into these provinces, to oblige them to remit their responsions, and that in 1464, they sent visitors thither to take care that the regular and military discipline should be observed in those places.

## ARTICLE V.

*Of the offices and employments in the order.*

THE grand master has a right to chuse himself a lieutenant, who, when he has named him, notifies it to the council, but without having any need of their consent and approbation. He likewise names the seneschal of his household; and when the person who is invested with it has a brief from the pope, he enjoys his office for life.

The vice-chancellor presented by the	}	named by the full council for life.
great chancellor,		
The secretary of the treasury named by the grand master.		
The master Equerry named by the great marshal,		

The grand master names the following officers.

Le cavalerizze, or master of the horse.

The receiver of the grand master's revenues.

The master of the household.

The grand master's procurator in the treasury.

The great chamberlain.

The deputy master of the household.

Le sous cavalerizze, or first gentleman of the horse.

The falconer.

The captain of the guards.

Three auditors.

The almoner and four chaplains.

Four chamberlains.

Four secretaries for the Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish languages.

The secretary or intendant of the revenues of the principality.

The credencier or clerk of the kitchen.

The garde-manger, or keeper of the pantry.

The keeper of the wardrobe.

Coun-

## Counsellors of the complete council.

- Fourteen counsellors taken out of } named by the lan-  
the seven languages. } guages, and ap-  
Seven auditors of the accompts of } proved by the  
the treasury, } council.
- Two procurators of the treasury, great crosses, named  
by the grand master and approved by the coun-  
cil.
- The conventual conservator who has been already  
mentioned when we treated of the conventual bai-  
lliffs.
- Comptroller of the conservator, in the nomination of  
the grand master and council.
- Castellan of the castellany. This office is entered upon  
the first day of May, and continues for two years.
- Two procurators of the prisoners, of the poor, of  
widows and orphans; the one a knight, and the  
other a priest, who is chaplain, or brother of obedi-  
ence.
- The protector of the monastery of St. Ursula, a great cross.
- 2 prud'hommes or comptrollers of the church, { a great cross  
and a knight.
- 3 commissioners of the poor beggars, great crosses.
- 2 ditto of the alms, { 1 great cross,  
1 knight.
- 2 ditto of the sick poor women, knights.
- 2 protectors of the catechumens, and { 1 great cross,  
the new converts, { 1 knight.
- 3 commissioners of the redemption, { 1 great cross,  
in the choice of the grand master, { 2 knights.
- The overseer of the in- } a knight of the language  
firmary, } of France, in the presen-  
tation of the great hos-  
pittaller.
- The prior and sub-prior of the } presented by the great  
infirmary, } hospitaller, and ap-  
The scribe, } proved by the grand  
The Armonier or press-keeper, } master and council.

- 2 prud'hommes or comptrollers of the infirmary, } two knights named by the grand master, and approved by the council.
- 4 commissaries of war and fortifications, } 4 great crosses of the four nations, viz. France, Spain, Italy and Germany.
- 4 ditto of the congregation of the gallies. } 4 knights of the 4 nations.
- 2 ditto for regulating the caravans, } 2 great crosses.
- 4 ditto of the naval armaments, } 3 great crosses and 1 knight.
- A president and four commissioners of the congregation of the ships of the four nations, } 1 great cross, and 4 knights.
- 2 commissioners of the chest of the flags, } 1 great cross, 1 knight.
- 3 ditto of the novices of different nations. } 1 great cross, 2 knights.
- 2 ditto of the prizes, } 2 knights.
- 2 ditto of the prison of the slaves, } 2 knights.
- The governor of the prison of the slaves, } a serving brother in the nomination of the grand master.
- 2 Commissioners of the mint, } 2 great crosses.
- 4 ditto of the gentry, } 4 knights of the four nations.
- 3 ditto of agreements, } 3 knights.
- The governor of the magazines, } 1 knight in the presentation of the great commander.
- 2 prud'hommes, or comptrollers of the stores, } 2 knights.
- 2 commissioners of the two houses, } 2 knights,
- 2 ditto of health, } 2 knights; but when there is any suspicion of infection, they join 4 great crosses with them.

The commander of the artillery,	{ 1 knight, in the nomination of the great commander.
2 comptrollers of the artillery,	2 knights.
2 commissaries of the soldiers,	{ 2 knights, named by the grand master.
The fiscal, or attorney ;	{ He is generally a brother of obedience.
The deputy-master-equerri,	{ a serving brother, named by the grand master, who notifies his nomination to the council.
The porter of la Valette,	{ a serving brother in the grand master's nomination.
The governor of the arsenal,	{ a knight in the nomination of the great commander.
The comptroller of the arsenal,	{ a knight in the presentation of the admiral.
The vestry-keeper,	{ brother chaplains in the nomination of the great commander.
The candle-keeper of the church of St. John,	{
The belfrey-keeper,	{ He chuses the captain of the admiral-galley, and presents him to the council.
The general of the gallies,	{
As many captains and masters as there are gallies.	
The reveditor or inspector of the gallies.	
The commodore of the ships.	
As many captains as there are ships, and several subaltern officers.	
The proveditor or overseer of the ships.	

## The GOVERNORS.

Of Goza, St. Angelo, St. Elmo, Ricasoli, The Town, The isle de la Sangle,	}	In the nomination of the grand master.
The captain of la Valette, The seven captains of the hamlets or villages of the country, The captain of the grove, a serv- ing brother,		
The three judges of appeals, of criminal cases, of civil causes,	}	In the grand ma- ster's nominati- on.
	}	Lawyers and doctors of laws named by the council.

## OUT OF THE CONVENT.

Three ambassadors in ordinary of the order.

M. the bailiff baron of Schaden em- bassador to the pope	}	At Rome.	}	The ambassadors of France and Spain are always great crosses. The ambassador of Rome is often a little cross ; their employ- ment lasts for three years, but it is frequently continued to them longer.
M. the bailiff of Diestrincken em- bassador to the emperor				
The bailiff de Mes- mes ambassador to the king of France	}	At Paris.		
The bailiff d'Avila ambassador to the king of Spain				
	}	At Madrid.		

In all the priories of the order there are receivers, whom the treasury presents to the council: their office is granted them for three years, but they sometimes continue them, and they may be great crosses.

THERE

THERE are likewise in all the priories several procurators in the presentation of the treasury, whose employments also last for three years.

THE money is coined with the impress and arms of the reigning grand master.

THE grand master don Raimond Perellos de Rocaful was the first that ever had guards ; the company consists of 150 men, and they mount the guard at the palace, and the two gates of the city of la Vallette.

THE grand master is to be deemed the first patron general of all those offices abovementioned, for which we have not assigned any particular patron : but he is obliged to propose his nomination to the council, who have a power either to allow or reject it.

SUCH are the dignities and offices of this order, the first of which is that of the grand master, the highest honour to which a knight of justice can arrive ; and for the better understanding thereof, we shall now explain the form observed in his election, his titles, his rights, his prerogatives, and from whence his forces and revenues arise.

## A R T I C L E VI.

### *Of the election of the grand master.*

**A**S soon as the grand master is dead, the council breaks his seal : and, that the order may not be left without an head, they chuse a lieutenant of the mastership, who, in concert with the council, presides in the administration, but never makes any grant, or offer to touch the revenue of the grand mastership.

THE second day they lay the corps of the deceased in state in the great hall of the palace on a catafalco, or scaffold, with a complete suit of armour on his right hand, lying upon a table covered with a carpet of black cloth. They bury him in the evening with the proper solemnities ; the function of the conventual conservator is suspended during the vacancy of the mastership.

The

The same day they appoint three knights of different nations, to receive what is due to the treasury from the religious that pretend to give their votes in the election. They then draw up a list of all who have a right to vote in it, and fix it up publicly at the door of the church of St. John: they likewise fix up the names of all such as lose their right of voting for that time, by their being in debt to the treasury.

IN the election of the doge of Venice, all the nobles above 30 years of age meet in the palace of St. Mark, and put as many balls into an urn as there are gentlemen present, thirty of which are gilt. The gentlemen to whose lot they fall put, in presence of all the state, nine of the gilded ones amongst 24 white ones, and the nine gentlemen who happen to draw them elect forty others, all of different families, but who are allowed to name themselves in the number. These 40 are again by lot reduced to 12; those 12 elect 25; the first naming three, and the two others two each. These 25 drawing lots again like the former, are reduced to nine, who name 45, which is five each: the 45 cast lots again, and are reduced to 11, who at last elect 41, who are the final electors of the doge, when they are confirmed by the great council; for if they are not, they must begin anew till they come again to another 41.

A MAN, to entitle him to have a vote in the election of grand master, must have been received of justice into the order; must be at least 18 years of age; must have resided three years in the convent, have made three caravans, and not owe at most above ten crowns to the public treasury. Notwithstanding that the brother chaplains, provided they are priests, and the serving brothers of arms are allowed to give their votes in the several languages into which they have been admitted, they yet have no manner of share in the government afterwards. Such of the Maltese as have been received into any of the languages, by virtue of a particular dispensation of the popes, are not allowed to give their

their votes in the election, much less to be competitors for it ; the reason of which general exclusion is in all probability to prevent any temptation which a Maltese grand master might possibly be under of perpetuating the sovereignty of Malta among his own countrymen.

THE third day after the grand master's decease is always fixed for the proceeding to the election of his successor, and they never defer a choice of such importance to a longer time, not only to stop all canvassings and cabals, but also to prevent certain pretensions of the court of Rome, where it is a maxim, that, so long as the vacancy is not filled up, the pope has a right of prevention to nominate the grand master ; so that the third day all the convent assemble together after having heard a mass of the Holy Ghost in the church of St. John. The seven languages which compose the order retire every one into their respective chapels, except that which the lieutenant of the mastership is of, which takes its place in the nave of the church. These seven languages are each of them to chuse out of their respective knights, three electors, to whom they give up all the right of election : these make in all one and twenty electors.

THE religious being shut up in their chapel write in their turns, and according to their seniority, the name of the knight of their language whom they chuse to be the first of the three electors they are to name. And, in order to ascertain their election, they are obliged to put their own name at the bottom of their ticket, and then seal it with the seal of the language.

WHEN all the voters of a language have given their votes in this manner, the procurators of the language take all the billets, and, counting them over in the presence of all the language, they examine whether their number agrees exactly with that of the votes ; for if it were to differ they would burn them immediately, and vote afresh till the number of tickets tallied exactly with the number of religious who have a right to give their votes.

BUT

BUT if every thing appears in due order, the procurators, with the most ancient of the language, open the tickets on the side on which the name of the knight is written, whom they chuse for their first elector; after which they count the votes given in favour of the other knights who were competitors in the same election, and if none of them have a clear quarter part of the ballots of his language, they must begin to vote again afresh, till such time as one knight has a clear quarter part of the votes; and then he takes the oath required by the statutes before the lieutenant of the mastership, and goes into the conclave: after this all the voters begin to ballot again for chusing the two other electors, who, like the first, carry it by plurality of voices; but the three electors are generally named at the very first balloting.

By a clear quarter part of the votes in a language is meant a number which cannot be found four times among those who compose the language: so the clear quarter part of nine is three, of thirteen four, of seventeen five, &c. If it happens that there is an equality of votes as well as a clear quarter part, the senior carries it, and the three persons elected go up to the Conclave where they themselves act as electors.

EVERY language chuses afterwards another knight to represent England by plurality of voices, and out of these seven knights three are chose, by plurality of votes, to enter the Conclave, and represent the language of England. These three new electors must be chose out of three different nations. It must be observed, that if the lieutenant of the mastership should be named for one of the three electors whom his language is to chuse, the council of state would immediately put another in his place, in order that the government might not be left a moment without a chief and a superior.

WHEN the three electors of each language are assembled in the Conclave to the number of twenty one, and are joined by the three electors for the language of England, making in all four and twenty knights of justice

justice or great crosses, though indeed the bishop of Malta, and the prior of the church, may be of the number, their dignities being a dispensation for their default of birth. These four and twenty, taking an oath before the lieutenant of the mastership, afterwards chuse the president of the election, whose nomination abolishes the office of lieutenant of the mastership. After this they proceed to the choice of the triumvirate, i. e. of a knight, a chaplain, who is a priest and a serving brother, to whom the first 24 electors deliver up the power of electing, when they retire out of the Conclave.

THIS triumvirate having taken their oaths retire into the chamber of the Conclave, and proceed among themselves to the choice of a fourth elector: when this fourth is joined with them, these four new electors chuse a fifth, and so on till they have chose to the number of thirteen, which with the three first, who were named by the 24, make up the number of 16 electors, two for every language, including that of England. In the nomination of the first eight, including the triumvirate in the number, they have no regard to the pre-eminence of the languages; but in the nomination of the other half, they always observe the rank which the languages have in respect of one another; so the sixth of this second half, which is the 14th in the order of the 16, is that taken out of any language they please to represent England.

IF the triumvirate do not in an hour's time agree in the election of the fourth elector abovementioned, they are each of them obliged to name one, and the 24 first electors ballot for them in the vestry, where they make their scrutiny on this occasion; and he of the three named by the triumvirate, who has the most votes among the 24, carries it; but if they all chance to have an equal number of voices, the senior of the three would be preferred. The 13, according as they are called, take each the usual oath, before the president of the election, before they join the triumvirate; and when they are all together, they ballot among them-

themselves for one or more persons ; he who has a majority of votes is made grand master. In case of an equal division among the 16 electors, the vote of the knight of the election carries it, and turns the scale. As odd as this form of election may seem, the knights had reason enough to establish it in that manner ; for these different changes of elector break all the measures private men might take ; and when all depends upon the choice of persons who owe their power to the favour of fortune, all artifices and intrigues prove ineffectual : besides, this is a means in this noble republic to please almost every particular person in it, by the share which they flatter themselves they have had in the election of the grand master.

THE balloting being over, the triumvirate leave the thirteen who had been concerned with them in the election, and, going up to the rails of the gallery which is over the great gate, the knight of the election, having the chaplain on his right, and the serving brother on his left, demands three times of the religious assembled in the church, if they are disposed to ratify the election they have just made of a grand master ; and when all the assembly has answered that they approve their choice, the knight of the election proclaims him aloud, and the new grand master, if he is present, goes and seats himself under the canopy. He first takes the oath which is administered to him by the prior of the church, and after *Te Deum* has been sung by way of thanksgiving, he receives the homage of all the religious, and is carried from thence in triumph to the palace. The day of the election, the treasury, in order to save the house of the mastership from being plundered, distribute three crowns to each religious, both novices as well as those who are professed. And a day or two after the election, the full or complete council puts the new grand master in possession of the sovereignty of the isles of Malta and Goza ; so that by his new dignity, he reunites in his person a military and regular superiority over all the religious of his order, and at the same time a sovereignty and all manner of royal rights

rights over the laity who are his subjects. But how lawful soever this sovereign authority may be, it has, nevertheless, ever since the settling of the inquisition in Malta, been incroached upon by the pretensions of the inquisitors. Formerly the supreme council of the order had the sole cognizance of every thing relating to faith and religion. But during the mastership of the grand master de la Cassiere, the bishops Cubellet and Royas, having successively got orders from Rome, that the cognizance thereof should be referred to them, the order being incensed at these proceedings, by way of revenge applied to pope Gregory XIII. and prevailed with him to send an inquisitor to Malta to take away that jurisdiction from the bishop. 'Tis true indeed that the council of the order, for the preservation of their authority, insisted with his holiness, that the officer of the court of Rome should not proceed in any case, but in concert with the grand master, the bishop, the prior of the church, and the vice-chancellor of the order: so that the authority of this tribunal was divided between the inquisitor and the principal officers of the order.

BUT this wise and prudent temperament did not subsist long; for the inquisitors, from a kind of emulation so common among them, took in other assessors, in order to make themselves absolute masters in their tribunal, though still under pretence of maintaining the authority of the holy see; and not content with this step, they took another which is scarce to be paralleled: they created so prodigious a number of what they call the Familiars of the holy office, that they have formed with this set of people a new government as it were, and a body of subjects, who, by virtue of certain patents of the inquisition, pretend to exempt themselves from the sovereign authority of the order. These subjects of the order, who may very well be treated as rebels, make up two thirds of the inhabitants of the island; so that all who have either money or credit with the inquisitor, pretend that they, by virtue of his protection and patents, are not obliged to take arms upon the grand master's orders, to repulse the infidels,

when they make descents upon the island. The secret views of the inquisitors are in all probability these; they suppose, that after they have robbed the grand master of his natural subjects, they may afterwards reduce him by insensible degrees to the miserable condition of being their inferior. And in a memorial presented by the language of France, to king Lewis the X.Vth, of glorious memory, we see that the inquisitors of that time, forgetting the respect due to the character of a sovereign, had the boldness to pretend to oblige the grand master to stop his coach when they should meet him in the street with theirs. After this, nothing was wanting to complete the ambitious projects of the inquisitor, but to seize on the revenues annexed to the dignity of grand master, both those which arose from the principality of the islands, as well as those that belonged to him by virtue of the grand mastership.

THE revenues of the principality consist in the rights of the admiralty, at the rate of ten per cent. upon all prizes, and comprehend likewise the customs, assessments, imposts, lands of the Demesne, farms, houses, gardens, duties on alienation and purchasing of lands, fines and confiscations.

THE revenues of the mastership consist first of six thousand crowns. which the treasury pays him every year for his table, two hundred crowns for keeping his palace and country-house in repair; a very scanty sum indeed with regard to his dignity, but which shews the frugality and temperance of the age when this regulation was made. Secondly, the grand master has a year's revenue of all the commandries of courtesy, which he disposes of every five years in each priory: and he has likewise in every priory the perpetual enjoyment of one commandry, which is called the Magistral Chamber, because it is annexed to the mastership. He may, in case he thinks proper, have them managed in his own name, or otherwise he may give them to any knights who have deserved well of the order by their services; and when the grand master be-  
flows

flows one of these magistral commandries upon a knight, he may, besides two annates, or the revenues of two years which he receives out of it, reserve likewise a pension to himself; but the knight who is gratified with this commandry, in consideration of these clogs upon it, is dispensed from paying any mortuary or vacancy to the order.

THE grand masters have frequently ships out a cruising, and have themselves all the profits that arise from the prizes they take: they likewise, in conjunction with the council, give leave to such knights as are able, to fit out vessels against the Turks, and cruise with the master's flag; but as for traffic and merchandize, that kind of venal profit is forbid by the statutes; and besides, all commerce is odious to most of the languages, who would think that a gain of that nature would debase the nobility of their extraction.

*End of the dissertation upon the government.*

## DISSERTATION

## O N

*Two cotemporary and original historians, who relate the same fact, but with circumstances so very different, that they entirely alter the nature of it.*

SUCH as undertake to travel through the immense space of history, often meet with rocks in their road<sup>a</sup>, which they can hardly keep from splitting on, without carrying the plummet always in their hand, and calling in the assistance of criticism, which a prudent writer should consult every moment, as a compass absolutely necessary to steer by in this kind of navigation. No body need be told that this art, like other sciences, is guided by principles and rules that are peculiar to it : The first that is proposed to us is, to advance no fact, as far as is possible, but upon the testimony of cotemporary and original historians : 'tis this testimony that engages the reader's confidence and establishes his assurance of facts. But if such antient authors, of equal authority, relate the same fact in a different manner, by what rule can a later writer be determined ? What motive can fix his choice, and to which of the two historians shall he give the preference ?

THIS is the very difficulty I met with in that part of my seventh book, where I give an account of the manner in which prince Gem or Zizim, son to Mahomet II. was received in the isle of Rhodes by the grand master and the knights of St. John. To guide me in my relation of that fact, I consulted the cotemporary and original historians : I found two of them, who deserve that title indisputably, who yet contradict one another directly in the narration of the same fact. The first

<sup>a</sup> See the 7th book of this history, p. 35. Vol. III.

first is William Caoursin vice-chancellor of the order, and the other is William de Jaligni secretary to Peter de Bourbon, second of the name, seignior of Beaujeu, who to the prejudice of the duke of Orleans, presumptive heir of the crown, seized on the government, and under whose administration most of the affairs, of which his secretary gives an account, were transacted. The whole affair between those two writers is to know, whether after the death of Mahomet II. prince Zizim his son, then in quest of an asylum against the power of his brother Bajazet who was for putting him to death; whether, I say, this unfortunate prince applied to the grand master of Rhodes, in order to obtain from him a retreat in his dominions, and a pass to come in and go out of them as he pleased; and whether this pass was sent him by a squadron of ships to serve him for an escort, as Caoursin relates; or whether he did not throw himself into the port of Rhodes and expose himself to be made a prisoner of war by the knights, purely to avoid being taken by the galleys of the sultan his brother, which were pursuing him on all sides, as Jaligni informs us, who pretends, that the grand master and the knights seized on his person, "Hoping, says he, to make their advantage of him."

IF we follow Caoursin, Zizim was Bajazet's younger brother; but he says, the prince pretended to the crown, as being born in royalty, after the emperor Mahomet his father was in possession of the empire: whereas Bajazet, though the elder, was born in the reign of Amurath II. when Mahomet was but a private man. "Fateor, he makes Zizim say, *fratrem prius in lucem prodiisse; sed patre est genitus non rege.*" Jaligni on the contrary says expressly, that Zizim was the eldest. The vice-chancellor adds, that Zizim being defeated in two battles against his brother, and having in vain solicited the sultan of Egypt for succours, and finding himself without troops, skulking up and down in the midst of his own territories and the rocks of mount Taurus, was forced to seek an asylum in the

of Rhodes ; that he ſent embaffadors to the grand maſter to deſire a paſs from him, “ *Fidem publicam implorat*, ſaid theſe embaffadors to d’Aubuffon, quâ “ *tutus in veſtram ditionem pateat aditus.*” The hiſtorian continuing his narration, ſays, that the grand maſter ſent him this paſs, with full liberty of coming in and going out of his dominions, in the very form that the embaffadors deſired.

WE have ſeen in the ſeventh book, that the grand maſter ſent theſe miniſters back with a ſtrong ſquadron to convoy the prince to the iſle of Rhodes, “ *Firmatus animo*, ſays Caourſin, *navim conſcendit & Hieroſolymorum equitum fidei ſe committit.*” He truſts himſelf, ſays the hiſtorian, to the faith of the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem. Zuniga grand prior of Caſtile giving him his hand to help him aboard his ſhip, and addreſſing himſelf to him, ſpoke as follows : We receive you, ſir, ſays he to him, as our gueſt, and not as an enemy ; “ *Te excipimus ut hoſpitem, non ut hoſtem.*” This was afterwards confirmed to him by the grand maſter, who ſaid to him, when he accoſted him, ſince you are come into our territories as our friend and gueſt, it is fit we ſhould render you all the offices of hoſpitality : “ *Tu ut hoſpes & amicus accedis, jura quidem hoſpitii ut præbeamus decens eſt.*”

BUT the treaty which the grand maſter afterwards made with ſultan Bajazet ſoon contradicted a conduct that appeared at firſt ſo generous ; for the knights agreed with the ſultan, in conſideration of a penſion of forty five thouſand ducats of gold, to keep Zizim in their power, and hinder him from diſturbſing the ſultan his brother in the enjoyment and government of the empire, ſo long as on his ſide he did not invade their territories or thoſe of the chriſtian princes \*. Caourſin, and after him Pere Bouhours, to excuſe the injuſtice and ſcandalouſneſs of ſuch a treaty, that was inconfiſtent with the paſs which the grand maſter and the order had ſent to prince Zizim, pretend that he engaged,

\* Hiſt. de Pierre d’Aubuffon.

ed, when he desired the pass, to guide himself entirely by the grand master's advice ; that the pass was granted on this express condition ; and that besides, Zizim had given a very ample letter of attorney to the grand master to treat with the Turks as he should see fitting ; and it was, says Pere Bouhours, by virtue of this letter of attorney, that the grand master brought Zizim into the treaty of peace.

As for what relates, add these two historians, to the forty or forty five thousand ducats, which ill designing people make use of as an handle to asperse the order, 'tis certain that the money which they received from Bajazet was employed in Zizim's maintenance ; and the grand master, far from making any advantage of it to himself, made an addition to it out of his own revenue ; as may be easily imagined, if we consider the royal magnificence with which the Ottoman prince was always treated, to say nothing of the infinite expences necessary to be made on his account, both in sending and receiving embassadors.

BUT it may be urged, in answer to these two historians, that supposing, as they pretend, the Turkish prince had, in order to obtain the pass, submitted to be guided entirely by the grand master's advice and orders, yet this pretended submission and engagement could never have been stipulated to the prejudice of the prince's liberty, the sole end and principal motive of the pass ; otherways the asking it on such a condition was to destroy it entirely. As to what is alledged relating to a letter of attorney that Zizim gave to the grand master, that reason seems to be altogether as frivolous.

THIS prince, if they are to be credited, gave a letter of attorney to the grand master, to treat in his name with the grand seignior his brother ; and the proxy makes use of this letter of attorney as a pretence, in concert with his enemy, to keep him in close imprisonment. As to the 45000 ducats of gold that Bajazet furnished for his brother's pension, I leave the reader to judge, whether a sum so considerable as that,

especi-

especially in 1485, was not enough for the maintenance of a prisoner and his guards. If any body would take the pains to make an estimate of this sum, with regard to what it would produce in our days, they will easily see whether there was any occasion for the grand master, as his two historians say, to make up out of his own revenue, what was wanting for the expences of the Turkish prince ; or whether a pension so considerable, as that which the grand master remitted every year with great exactness to Venice, was not one of the motives that engaged the order not to part with so useful a prisoner. After having consulted Caoursin, let us see how Jaligni relates the same event.

OF all the facts related by these two historians, in which they contradict one another, I find but one of any great importance, or which, in my opinion, concerns the honour of the grand master and his order, and that is the pass which Caoursin pretends Zizim obtained before he entered into the port of Rhodes. For if he only offered himself there as a prisoner of war, which Jaligni asserts, there is no doubt but the order might dispose of their prisoner, transport him to France, treat with his brother about his pension, deliver him up, and consign him over a prisoner to the pope. There is nothing in all this that clashes with the ordinary rules of justice and equity. But if we only consider the facts as Caoursin states them, and that the Turkish prince, before he delivered himself up to the knights, did indeed take the precaution of a pass for his security ; how is it possible to vindicate the grand master and his order from a breach of promise, and a violation of the public faith which they engaged to that prince ? Here lies the difficulty ; which of the two historians shall we prefer ? every thing seems to favour Caoursin. This historian was not only cotemporary, but likewise actually at Rhodes when Zizim arrived there ; he was a minister, and one of the principal officers of the order, and in all probability, as he was vice-chancellor, he was the very person that drew up and signed the pass : and what seems to determine  
still

still more in his favour is, that this writer, who seems passionate for the interests of his order, and in all his works loses no occasion of celebrating their illustrious actions, does on this occasion ingenuously relate a fact that is not much for its honour. The vanquished party's owning a defeat, is an incontestible proof for the glory of the vanquisher.

BUT that which might make us suspect Caoursin's account is, that this writer amplifies and exaggerates every thing he says ; and that on the foundation of a certain and undoubted fact, he almost builds a romance, or at least dresses up his relation of it in circumstances that very often have little or no probability in them. If he speaks of Mahomet, father to Zizim, he makes him a sorcerer and a magician, though it is well enough known that that prince was a perfect atheist, and owned no divinity but fortune. When he speaks of the death of that sultan, he indeed damns him, and that with reason ; but then, as if that were not enough, he precipitates him soul and body into hell, where he caused, says this fine historian, so abominable a stink, that the insupportable stench was a great addition to the torments of the damned. " *Arbitramur enim, says he, tam scelestum, tam fœtidum, tam fœvum cadaver terram intra sua viscera minimè continuïsse, et in damnatorum perpetuum chaos deiecisse ; cujus fœtor ipsum etiam infernam inficit, et damnatorum supplicia graviora reddit.*

THIS author's stile is full as extraordinary as the romantic air which he gives to his narrations. He has no notion but of one kind ; his favourite figure is the direct stile ; and, what is a little surprising, all the compliments that he bestows on Zizim are so many harangues ; we meet with " prince Zizim's speech to the foldan of Egypt, to the prince of Caramania, to the grand master" in every page of his book, with the answers of all these princes in the same plain direct stile. Yet these are the places of his work where perhaps he has taken the most pains ; these pieces are stuffed with learned citations and common places, but

unluckily they are seldom proper for the subject, much less suit the character of the persons in o whose mouth he puts them. In fine, before this prince's arrival at Rhodes, he carries him as far as Jerusalem and Mecca, which journies indeed he actually made; but as if he had stood behind him all the time, he recites verbatim the several prayers which the Turkish prince offered up either to God or to Mahomet, the false prophet of his law. I own these are no more than the faults of a bad orator, which may possibly be consistent with his veracity in the facts that he relates; but after all, the person that could allow himself to compose such frothy compliments, and such a number of harangues, might likewise take the liberty of composing Zizim's pass and magnificent entry into Rhodes, which he fancied would be a fine embellishment to his history.

JALIGNI, on the contrary, appears more simple in his narration; his work contains only annals of the most important matters that passed under the reign of Charles VIII. He was secretary to a prince, who then governed France during the minority of the king his brother-in-law, and who even, after his majority, kept a great share in the government for some time: and if Zizim had come to Rhodes, and afterwards into France, only upon the assurance of a pass, how could they possibly be ignorant of it in that kingdom? Would not that prince himself have demanded the benefit of the public faith? Whereas, being no better than a prisoner of war, those who took him might very well detain him, dispose of him, or take a ransom for him, without acting contrary to equity and the law of nations.

BESIDES Matthias Corvinus king of Hungary, the terror of the Turks, the republic of Venice, and even the soldan of Egypt, all of them at that time enemies to Bajazet, having made great instances to the grand master to deliver up Zizim to them, in hopes that his bare appearing on the frontiers would give new life to his party, and might bring about some revolution in the empire; if this unfortunate prince had not been a prisoner

prisoner of the order, what pretence could the knights have had to keep him in prison contrary to the assurance of the pass, of their own interests, and of those of all Christendom? Would not all their sovereigns have complained of such an infamous piece of injustice? Would there not have been some traces or other left of these complaints in the historians of the time? In fine, another proof that the knights thought they had a right to dispose of the person and liberty of the Turkish prince, and that they considered his ransom as part of their own effects, is, that pope Innocent VIII. having demanded him of the order with a design of putting him at the head of a league that was formed against the grand seignior, the grand master and supreme council of the order sent vice-chancellor Caoursin to Rome, with other ambassadors, to treat with the pontiff about it; and the knights, after various negotiations, would not consent to deliver up the Turkish prince to him, but upon condition, that by way of equivalent, he should unite to their order those of St. Sepulchre and St. Lazarus, with all the estates and revenues belonging to them. Neither was the private interest of the grand master forgot in this treaty; and in which it was expressly stipulated, that as soon as Zizim should be arrived at Rome, the pope should send d'Aubusson a cardinal's hat. If Zizim had not been the prisoner of those knights, would it not have been a dishonour to them to exact such vast recompences for violating the faith they had plighted to that prince?

BUT this is to alledge the very thing contested as a proof, and is a begging of the question: all depends upon knowing which is most to be credited, Caoursin or Jaligni. The first allows that there was a pass, and even gives one to understand, and that plainly enough, that it had been violated. According to the other historian, Zizim was only a prisoner of war, who consequently had no pass sent him; which of the two historians are we to believe? In order to get rid of this uncertainty, and reconcile these authors in some measure, I fancied it would be best to divide my confidence,  
and

and give part of it to Caoursin, particularly with regard to the facts that passed at Rhodes, to which he was an eye witness, and reserve the other for Jaligni, and follow him in his account of that prince after his arrival in France. This expedient seemed to me at first reasonable enough, but when I came to apply it, I found my scruples springing up, and the same difficulties occurring over again.

FOR if the Turkish prince, as Caoursin asserts, and which indeed is likely enough, did not enter Rhodes till he had a pass, and might enjoy entire liberty in that place ; if it be true, as he advances, that this prince went into France of his own accord, the better to avoid the snares that his brother might lay for him so long as he should continue in the east, and in hopes of obtaining powerful succours from Louis XI. to set him upon the throne of his fathers : Jaligni ought to have told us for what reason, and at what time and place he was arrested in France, whereas he does not mention the least syllable of it. If we believe Caoursin, Zizim enjoyed a full liberty at Rhodes : we find him likewise free at his leaving Rhodes, and at the time of his embarkation : and if we follow Jaligni, the prince was a prisoner all the time he was in that kingdom. The French historian, speaking of his abode in France, calls him not so often by his own name, as by that of *the prisoner*. This transition from a state of liberty, to his being confined in a tower, ought it not to be taken notice of by this writer ? Why has he not told us whether the poor prince was arrested in the vessel of the order that carried him from Rhodes into France ? or whether he waited till he was landed in some part of that kingdom ? in fine, whether they did not put him in prison till after the tower built for that purpose was finished ! Is it allowable in an event of so rare and singular a nature, to be either in the dark as to the principal circumstances of it, or to suppress them ? The Rhodian, in my opinion, is more particular in this respect ; and it is easy to be seen from his narration, that they made no open attempt upon Zizim's liberty, till  
orders

orders came from Rhodes to that purpose, pursuant to the treaty made between the grand seignior and the grand master. As the order, by that treaty, engaged itself, in consideration of a pension of forty-five thousand ducats of gold, to keep the Turkish prince in their power, they certainly thought it necessary to keep him in confinement, in order to prevent his escape. 'Twas in this treaty that they trafficked for the liberty of this unfortunate prince, and his imprisonment was the seal of the new alliance between the Turks and the Christians : but for fear of putting any bias upon the reader's judgment, we have thought proper to annex to this dissertation an extract of the two historians, by which he will be enabled to make a judgment whether there ever was a pass granted, and whether such safe conduct was violated by the grand master and the knights of Rhodes.

## TEXTE DE JALIGNI.

**L**E roy, dit Jaligni, étant encore à Paris ledit mois de Janvier, mil quatre cens quatre-vingt et huit, il arriva per devers lui un ambassadeur de l'empereur des Turcs, qui conduisoit un ambassadeur du Roy de Naples. Par cet ambassadeur, le Turc écrivoit au Roy des lettres de créance : la cause pourquoi le Turc écrivoit, et envoyoit son ambassadeur, étoit pourcequ'en France étoit son frere aîné, à qui appartenoit toute la seigneurie, et y avoit été amené il y avoit déjà quatre ou cinq ans : car en l'an mil quatre cens quatre-vingt et un, l'empereur des Turcs mourut, lequel délaissa à deux de ses enfans la plus grande seigneurie du monde, pourcequ'il possédoit deux empires, et onze royaumes, et tenoit sous son obéissance la Turquie, la Grece, et la plûpart de l'Asie. Après sa mort, pourceque son fils aîné étoit fort éloigné de Constantinople, où le Turc a coûtume de faire sa résidence, et qu'il étoit occupé en une guerre, son frere puîné durant cette absence, s'assura des gens d'armes qui étoient au tour de

son pere, et de plus s'empara de toutes les finances, et usurpa le titre de la seigneurie. L'ainé, d'autre part, sachant les nouvelles du décès de son pere, se mit en chemin par mer pour venir prendre possession de cet empire, comme seigneur naturel ; mais en venant, il apprit que son dit frere s'étoit saisi de tout ; et lui, étant encore sur mer, il rencontra des gallées en course, que son frere avoit envoyées pour le guetter et le prendre au passage ; et fut tellement pressé d'icelles gallées, qu'il fut contraint de se mettre en fuite, et se sauver, pourcequ'il étoit bien assuré de sa mort s'il étoit pris. Il fut donc tellement poursuivi qu'il lui convint se jeter à refuge dedans le port de Rhodes ; laquelle chose étant venue à la connoissance du grand maître et des chevaliers, incontinent ils le saisirent de sa personne, étant fort joyeux de l'aventure qui leur étoit advenue ; et espérant d'en bien faire leur profit, ils donnerent bon et sûr ordre pour la garde de sa personne. Aussi-tôt que le frere qui usurpoit la Seigneurie, sut comme son dit frere étoit ainsi échappé, il en fut très-déplaisant ; toutefois incontinent après, il envoya une grande et solennelle ambassade devers le grand maître de Rhodes, pour pratiquer, s'il seroit possible, de ravoir son frere, ou à tout le moins d'être assuré qu'il ne lui pût nuire à l'avenir. Enfin il fut conclu entre eux que ledit frere jouissant, donneroit par chacun an une bonne et grande pension au grand maître de Rhodes. Et en outre, qu'il fourniroït autre grande somme d'argent pour la dépense de son frere spolié, et pour sa garde : outre quoi alliance fut faite, et toute sûreté baillée à ceux de Rhodes de leurs terres et seigneuries. Or combien que le grand maître de Rhodes eût lors un avantageux parti avec le Turc, toutefois il fut en doute qu'à la longue la seigneurie de Rhodes n'en fût brouillée, et en danger, s'il détenoit continuellement son prisonnier à Rhodes, croyant bien que le frere jouissant seroit incessamment à l'aguet pour l'avoir, ou par amour, ou par trahison, ou de force. D'autre part, il redoutoit les enterprises des voisins, comme du Souldan, des Vénitiens, du roy de Naples, et autres, et pensoit

pensoit que chacun d'eux employeroit ses cinq sens pour trouver moyen de l'avoir, et en faire chacun son profit; aussi étoit-il fort requis par le pape de le lui bailler, pour le profit et l'avantage du saint siege apostolique. Enfin pour éviter tous ces inconvéniens, il délibéra de le mettre en lieu sûr; et pourcequ'il étoit naïf de France, de la comté de la Marche, et de la maison d'Aubusson, il résolut de l'envoyer en ce royaume, considerant que le roy étoit fort éloigné des seigneuries du Turc, et qu'il n'auroit guères d'intérêt sur le fait de cet empire Ottoman, à qui il demeurât des deux freres. Toutesfois avant que de l'envoyer en France, il envoya sçavoir du roy Louis onzième de ce nom, si son plaisir seroit de le vouloir bien souffrir en son royaume; laquelle chose le roy accorda volontiers. Après donc que ledit maître de Rhodes eût ainsi eu le congé et la permission du Roy, il prépara le voyage de son prisonnier, et l'envoya descendre au pays de Languedoc; de là il le fit mener en ladite comté de la Marche, en la maison du seigneur du Bocalami, qui étoit parent d'icelui grand maître; et là fut détenu ce prisonnier, qui avoit pour sa garde aucuns chevaliers de Rhodes, lesquels étoient pour la plûpart parens dudit grand maître. Il étoit fort bien entretenu de sa personne en toutes ses necessitez et besoins; aussi son frere empereur payoit bien sa dépense. Ce prisonnier avoit oui parler du roy Louis, et de la grandeur de son royaume, et de sa seigneurie, et aussi de ses faits; par quoi il désiroit fort de le voir et de parler à lui. Les chevaliers qui l'avoient en garde le firent sçavoir au Roy, lequel fit réponse, que pour la grande renommée que son pere avoit eue, qui en son tems étoit jusqu'alors le plus grand prince de la Loi de Mahomet, et lequel avoit le plus fait de belles conquêtes qu'aucun autre, il le verroit volontiers, et communiqueroit de très bon cœur avec lui; mais que bonnement il ne le pouvoit faire, attendu qu'il n'étoit pas de la Loi; et ordonna de plus qu'on lui dit, que s'il vouloit embrasser la religion Chrétienne, il lui promettoit d'employer toute sa puissance afin de lui aider à recouvrer les seigneuries de

son empire ; et de plus, il lui donneroît de quoi entretenir son état : et si d'avanture il vouloit cependant demeurer en son royaume, qu'il lui donneroît des héritages et seigneuries, avec la jouissance desquelles il pourroit vivre comme un prince. Les chevaliers firent sçavoir tout cela à leur prisonnier ; mais pourquoi que ce fût il ne voulut délaïsser sa Loi, et demeura encore en ladite comté de la Marche, en la maison du susdit Bocalami, jusqu'audit mois de Janvier mil quatre cens quatre-vingt et huit, qu'après plusieurs poursuites et instances que le pape, et le saint siege apostolique avoient faites envers le roy, afin d'avoir ce prisonnier, pour le grand profit et interest du saint siege ; et qu'à cette cause il y avoit en ambassade envoyée exprès devers le roy, laquelle y étoit encore. Le roy se montrant vrai fils de l'Eglise, et voulant en suivre l'amour que ses prédécesseurs avoient eu envers le saint siege, dont à cette cause ils ont acquis le titre de très-chrétiens rois de France ; il livra et remit ce prisonnier aux ambassadeurs du saint pere pour le mener à Rome : ce qui arriva un peu auparavant que l'ambassadeur du Turc arrivât à Paris, lequel ambassadeur offroit de la part de son maître au roy, de grands partis et avantageuses conditions, comme de bailler toutes les reliques de Dieu notre Sauveur, des apôtres, et des saints et saintes, que son pere avoit trouvées à Constantinople lorsqu'il fit la conquête de cette ville, et dans toutes les autres villes qu'il avoit conquises sur la chrétienté ; de plus, il offroit de faire tout son effort pour conquérir la terre sainte, et puis de la remettre ès mains du roy ; aussi offroit-il une grosse pension pour l'entretienement de son frere, pourvû que le roy le retînt dans son royaume. Lorsque ces grandes offres se firent, le prisonnier étoit encore dedans le royaume, et l'eût bien pû le roy recouvrir et s'en rendre le maître ; et même aucuns disoient que vû ces grandes offres, le roy les devoit accepter : mais il se voulut bien montrer vrai fils de l'Eglise, et ne voulut pas préférer l'avarice et l'interest à la libéralité, et à la loyauté, en disant que puis-

qu'il

qu'il l'avoit fait livrer aux gens du pape, et qu'il lui en avoit accordé la délivrance, il vouloit tenir sa parole, et qu'il seroit bien joyeux que le saint siege en fît son profit, et en pût tirer quelque avantage. Il fut donc mené à Avignon ; et de-là il fut mis sur mer, et conduit à Rome. D'ailleurs, le grand maître de Rhodes poursuivoit aussi de sa part qu'il fût mis ès mains du saint siege ; et par ce moyen il fut fait cardinal, et obtint de grands privilèges et biens pour tout l'ordre de saint Jean de Jerusalem. Le roy fit au reste très-bien entretenir et traiter l'ambassadeur du Turc, et celui du roy de Naples, qui le conduisoit, et les fit défrayer, et leur fit de beaux dons.

## TEXTE DE CAOURSIN.

*Zyzymy Rex legatos mittit Rhodum.*

**M**Ittit<sup>a</sup> itaque rex Zyzymy Rhodum legatos : ad quos prius literas dederat. sed nuncium terrestre iter agentem : regis Bagyazit milites intercipiunt. Legati Cilicie littoribus rhodiam biremem casu repertam conscendunt : rhodumque navigant. Interea navigium apud ea littora stationem habens Zyzymy conducit. ut si casus exegerit : repente eo consensu salutis quoquo modo consulat. Legati ubi rhodum appulerunt : jussu equitum magistri Petri d'Aubusson senatu coacto in hanc loquuntur sententiam.

*Oratio legatorum in senatu Rhodiorum.*

PRECELLENTISSIME princeps et magister : prestantissimique equites. Nobilissimus adolescens ac sublimi loco natus Zyzymy rex : othumannides maximi regis nepos. splendidissimi imperatoris filius : ac potentissimi tyranni germanus. adversis rebus ad tempus cedens : cupit ad te sapientissimum principem et victo-

Y 3

riossimum

<sup>a</sup> Cette relation a été imprimée à Ulme en 1496 ; on a suivi ici l'orthographe et la ponctuation de l'original.

riofissimum magistrum. vosque fortissimos athletas: confugere. quorum prudentia consilio atque ope: rebus afflictiis inderi possit. Quam propere mittendam classem esse petit: que ipsum excipiens Rhodum deuehat. fidemque publicam implorat: qua tutus in vestram ditionem pateat aditus. hoc loco referre non libet: que vestros quidem prestantissimos animos persuadeant: ut regium adolecentem: non reiciatis. Nobiles viri estis: et multa prediti prudentia. satis superque intelligitis: quanti ponderis existant postulata et quot vel quales fructus inde excerpti poterint. Scimas enim vos preclarissimos viros armis asuetos: res magis quam verba impellere: quare prolixiori sermone suauissimus aures non obtundemus. Potentissimum regis natum: ad vos accedentem (licet profugum) ne floccipendatis. Indecorum enim esset asillum regi claudere. quod vel homonciis: et pusillis semper patuit. Celebre quidem est vestrum (apud exterarum nationes) nomen: quod et caucalos montes transcendit et indos penetravit. Quin armis vim repellere non ignorat: et profugos fouere asilo tutissimo non fastidit generosus vester animus. Littere in senatu recitate: diem postulant.

*Senatus consultum.*

LEGATIS curia exclusis: magister, patres quoque de re consultant et multa mente agitant. que modo suadent: ut regem Zyzymy excipiant. modo: ut reiciant impellunt. Tandem ex rationum controuersis (seu ex calculorum collisione ignea scintilla) una resultat sententia: decernuntque regem excipiendum alendum atque fouendum: quia ejusce eventus occasio christiane religioni profutura sit. Intromissis legatis: senatus consultum editur. actis gratiis: petunt. ut res quantotius parentur: ne mora discrimen afferat.

*Classis paratur: et Ciliciam nauigat ad Zyzymy deuehendum.*

ONERARIA igitur nauiis triremes: nauigiaque parantur. prefectus insignis eques designatur: qui classe con-

conscensâ clara militum hierosolimorum comitatus catterua in Ciliciam nauigat. vbi illic appulit : rex Zyzymy nauigium de quo supra mentionem fecimus : citato equorum cursu vrgentibus germani militibus iam conciderat. fama est cum a littore paululum elongaretur : perbreuem quidem epistolam Zyzymy conscripsisse & ad fratrem dedisse : quam sagitte inuoluit nexuitque : & litico arcu in terram contorsit. exceptam esse ferunt epistolam a fratris militibus qui regium iuuenem persequuti sunt : & fratri redditam : quam ubi germanus perlegit : parumper lacrimatus est. animoque consternatus diu siluit : & aditu prohibito papihone se continuit. egre certo tulit. quod frater mahumette legis cultor (quod permaximum crimen mahumetei ducunt) ad christianos confugerit. ad eos presertim qui othumannidum familie infensissimi fuere : & genitorem grauiori affecerunt ignominia. quodque fratrem christiano adherentem nomini. legi mahumette grauissimum afferre posset dedecus. quorum se conscium profitetur : qui tanta atrocitate sit eum persequutus. Series epistole : fuit.

*Rex Zyzymy Rhodiorum classem conscendit.*

UBI nunciatum est : rhodios sui causâ advanasse. firmatus animo : nauim conscendit. & hierosolimorum equitum fidei : sese credit. Navis prefectus : Regulum othumannidem humanitate honore obsequioque prosequitur. littora patrii soli linquens : & paternum auitumque regnum deserens rex. turbato animo aliquot siluit horas : mente postmodum recepta. navis prefectum : his alloquitur verbis :

*Zyzymy classis perfectum alloquitur.*

NEDUM ago tibi vir illustris gratias : verum habeo ingentes. cumulateque redderem si fors a sublimi loco me non deiecisset. Quod me destitutum profugum animo extorremque tanto zelo afficias. Sed ab ingenuis visceribus magnanimoque : non nisi illustria proficisci poterunt. generosi quidem sunt : qui te ad me

excipiendum miserunt. tu quoque ex coetu eorum nobilissimes et vir dignus. qui mandata exequi accurate pro tua innata prudentia & scis & studes. Non possum tamen non parum admirari : quod tanti affectus iudicium in me exhibeatur. qui ejus natus sum : qui seuicia crudelitatem ac immanitatem (dum spiritus alebat artus) rhodios persequutus est. in quo : & tuam & tui principis ac senatus rhodiorum nobilitatem predico. prudentiam admiror simul & magnanimitatem (que iniurarum obliuiscitur) extollo. Si res prospere succedent : tanti quidem in me officij memorem & gratum intelligent rhodii. Cui ait : classis capitaneus.

*Responsio capitanei.*

CLARISSIME princeps : hoc a natura illustrioribus animis datum est. ut soleant precellentes viros : honore afficere digno. tu qui summo loco natus es : quamvis profugus & extorris contemptui tamen non esse debes. Id quippe vilius hominum censetur : qui nonnisi bene fortunatos colere sciunt. At magnanimi viri quos virtus aut sanguinis prosapia illustrat : vel hostes armis positos reuerentur colunt atque observant. Te excipimus ut hospitem : non hostem. hospitis quidem iura : non hostis sequimur. Nec enim mirari licet : quo te affectato corde prosequimur. cuius genitor : seu rhodio persequutus est odio. Pater tuus legis mahumetee sectator : quod sibi cordi est molitus. Nos ut hosti pro virili parte constanter arma obiecimus. licet caduca quedam terrena & vilia prostravit : que quantotius erecta sunt glorie tamen famam quam nulla obliterabit etas : rhodiorum nomini attulit. Posteritas namque omnis rhodiorum victoriam e celo demissam nullo tempore reticebit. Leonis profecto brutorum principis animalium mos est : prostratis blandiri seuque animalia grauiori imbuere ira. Milites quoque christi : leonis mores imitati. qui ad eos amice confugiunt : humanitate excipiunt. qui seuicia vtuntur : strictos gladios fortiter objiciunt.

*Pompa*

*Pompa qua exceptus est a Rhodiis rex Zyzymy.*

INTEREA Regis aduentu nunciato : parantur que pompe deceant. struitur ad mare ligneus pons : qui descendentem excipiat regem : pontis enim longitudo in mare protensa decem fere passuum fuit. latitudo quatuor : quibus equo gradu plures incedere possent. attrebatum pannis auro argenteo serico lanaque contextis : pro gallorum belgarum more (qui huiusce artis inuectores & peritiores putantur) pons ornatur. via enim qua pedum vestigia incedentes premerent : thurcorum pictis tapetis sternitur. vici qua parte eundum fuit : mirto floribus suauem quidem odorem spirantibus resperfi ac varietate sunt distincti. Primores ac plebeia gens que ad spectaculum conuenerat : vias obsident. Matrone ac nupte innupteque puellæ : ad fenestras sedent. Reliquum vulgus tecta conscendit : vt venientem conspiciant regem. Nauim ante portus hostium anchoris subnixam Rhodia triremis propinquans : regem excipiens ad pontem vehit. Premissi sunt prestantes senatorii ordinis equites : qui Zyzymy descendentem consalutent. Hos sequitur longus famulorum ordo : insignis magistri redimitorum gallicos cantus vibrantium. deinde iuuenes prime lanuginis milites hierosolimitani : lucentibus equis insidentes. Torque veste sericea & splendido ornatu : distincti incedunt. Magistrum post hos insignis vehit sonipes : spumancia frena mandens. Aureis fibulis phalerisque ornatus : qui hynnitum sepius edens. superbe graditur : vt ne quidem magistro quempiam adherere laciniori incessu permittat. Senatus quidem grauis : equis vectus subsequitur. Edem sancti Sebastiani foro sitam de industria magister non transit : illucque obuiam venit rex Zyzymy. superbo insidens equo : fidis comitatus profugis. Postquam magistrum rex conspexit : ter digito labellum compescuit. qui mos est barbarorum principum : cum mutua reuerencia sese afficiunt. Magister autem pro more principem reueretur. Reddita salutatione dextras iungunt. & per interpretem confabulantes : ad edes equitant paratas. Ubi ad palacia francorum equitum (magnifice ad hec ornata)

ta) ventum est eo dimisso magister suas edes petit. Rex vero ex equo in pedes sese agiliter excipit : ac duorum medius thurcorum honoris causa vlnas sustentantium scalas conscendens penetralia ingreditur. barbaricoque sago abiecto : lectisternio pro thurcorum more flexis poplitibus sedit. Ea die artubus sale tabentibus : quies data est.

*Zyzymy ad Magistrum verba.*

POSTRIDIE eius diei : magistrum coram alloquitur rex his verbis. Prestantissime magister inclitissimeque princeps : germani seuicia me persequente. cumque fors eo me redegisset : vt aduersis cedere quam in fortunam conari salubrius visum esset. multa menti occurrunt : huc atque illuc animum conuertens ad quos confugerem non satis prospicio. Demum tu preclarissime athleta occurristi : subijtque mentem tui quidem nominis fama percelebris. que nedum christianos : verum exterorum fines & vsque ad indos penetrauit. Accedit ad hoc fidei integritas : animi generositas mentisque magnanimitas. qua tu : tuique commilitones pediti sunt. Preterea precellentis triumphi gloria : quam (obsidione qua genitor meus Rhodios oppugnauit) adepti estis illustre quidem facinus : othumannorum familiam (supra octingentos annos tropheis triumphis atque ouationibus celebratam) virtute vestra propulsa. ingenti itaque tue virtutis admiratione allectus : te tuorumque militum cetum. nedum dilexi verum amaui colui & magnifeci. Vestre quippe : virtutis tante sunt vires vt nedum sue gentis : verum exterarum nationum animos alliciant. Nec parum attulit mihi fiducie : quod tu christianorum principum fauorem gratiamque haud immerito complecteris. Et per te : tui quidem nominis splendor in orientem late diffunditur. Nulli certe mirum videri debet : si personam tue fidei crederemus. qui magnanimus & sapientissimus genitoris preteritis iniurias parui-penderes : & filium tyranni ad te confugientem. non contemneres : verum consilio auxilio atque presidio foueres. Sed tacitus forsitan cogitas : quo iure cum  
germano

germano de regno hic contendit qui minor est natu. Fateor fratrem prius in lucem prodisse : hac quoque ratione imperio exclusum iri contendo. Patre enim genitus est non rege : qui (nondum principatum adeptus) ipsum genuit. Possideat igitur : quorum pater (dum eum suscepit) potitur. Ego vero a patre rege imperialibus infulis ornato : genitus natus educatusque sum. Nec patrem vidi cognoui atque colui : nisi regem imperatorem ac principem rerum potitum. Quo fit : vt optimo iure quod pater (cum me genuit) possedit : mihi debeant nato. At mittamus hec. Potuit ne me regno paterno auitoque prorsus expellere : & regio iuueni dignam portionem denegare ? Regiam gazam : precellentemque supellectilem inuadere sibi ascribere ac diripere ? Commilitones (vt mihi insensu essent) donis corrumpere allicere atque mouere : & me ad interitum vsque vrgere ? O fratris seu crudelitas ? O germani contumax tyrannis ? O sanguinis ceca cupiditas ? Pudet hec : de fratre queri. Sed quod non erubuit : me paterna hereditate spoliare : equum est me (iniuria spoliatum) coram his ad quos confugio haud verecunde conqueri. *Qui enim medici operam petit : dolorem & vulnus detegat necesse est.* Ad te confugi Rhodiorum felicissime princeps : volque amplector fortissimi milites. facebant igitur paterne contumelie : ad calamitatem (qua premor) mentem conuertere velis inclitissime athleta. qui hostium armis audes resistere : & principum calamitati scis subuenire. Percuciam quippe cum christianis perpetuum foedus : nec eos armis laceffere conabor : paternique imperij portione non indigna contentus : armis positis quiescam. Nec immemor beneficiorum (a te susceptorum) ero. Imploro tuum presidium. inuoco principum christiane religionis auxilium : vt & mihi & ipsis consulant germani seuiciam vindicantes. pro inimico amicum : pro hoste hospitem : pro infido fidum : R. P. christianorum vendicabunt. Rege silente : magister ita loquutus est.

*Responsio Magistri.*

VERBA tua illustrissime Rex : prudentia sunt plena. Quod me & rhodios equites tantopere laudaris : tue quidem

quidem modestie ascribimus. Si quid enim glorie fame aut dignitatis in nostro relucet cetu : deo gratiarum infusori attribuimus. Ex cuius providentie fonte : cuncta manant fluunt ac deriuantur. Nec te moueat : quod christiani & cruce signati sumus. Rhodiorum quippe ciuitas cunctarum gentium asilum refugium & portus fidelissimusest ad quam (patrum nostrorum memoria & tue gentis & aliarum non contemnendi principes) qui confugere : gratiam cum humanitate reportarunt. Nec enim decet generosos animos : cum de foedere agitur hostilium armorum reminisci. Si genitor fuit acerrimus Rhodiorum oppugnator : putauit sue legis decori id conducere. Egit vt hostis : nos autem vt hosti gladios obiecimur. Deus tandem clementissimus iustiori fauit parti : & victorie angelum rhodijs mittere dignatus est. Tu ut hospes amicusque accedis : iura quidem hospicii benivolencie ac dilectionis prebeamus decens est. bono ac erecto sis animo : pro virili parte rerum euentui consulere. quodque tibi & nomini christiano conducat : exequi non paruipendimus quantum & ingenioli : & fortunarum facultas suppeditarit. Romanus quidem pontifex : reges potentatusque catholici. Qui religionis christiane tenent gubernacula : potentia sapientia ac propensiore in R. P. christianorum voluntate perditum sunt. qui tui aduentus occasione frui scient : te non deferemus, sed nos huic cause : propicios comperies. Placuitque plurimum tui iuris summam intelligere : vt iuste cause inniti videamur. Grateque sunt oblationes : que non nisi ab animo grato & generosa mente (que omnem respuit ingratitude labein) proficiuntur. His dictis regeque salutato edes reuisit.

### *Consultationes Rhodiorum.*

TOTIS diebus frequens senatus cogitur : vbi sapientissima consultatione res agitantur. Placuit tandem principi ac rhodiorum senatui : in eam quoque sententiam cunctorum animi inclinantur ad Romanum pontificem imperatorem reges & principes catholicos : literas dari nunciosque mitti, qui regis Zyzymy ad rhodios confugi-

um nuncient: oportunitatemque a Deo oblatam significant. quo. R. P. christianorum: consuli possit. Optimumque visum est: ut profugus princeps sub tutela magistri & rhodiorum equitum ad occiduas migret provincias. Facto S. C. literæ nuntijque expediuntur. Ac navis oneraria paratur que regulum deuehat. cujus conductores deputantur prestantes rhodiorum milites: qui kalendas septembris M cccc lxxxij. Navim conscendentes portu feliciter soluunt. Ea quoque pompa & ornatu: quo Zyzymy urbem introiuit. Postquam dies duo & quadraginta moram traxisset: Rhodo discessit.

*Guillelmi Casursii Rhodiorum vicecancellarij de admisione regis yzymy in Gallias & diligenti custodia asseruatione: exhortatio.*

NULLUS est orthodoxe fidei tam imbecillis cultor: qui pro virili parte aggredi non debeat quod christiani nominis honori salutique conducatur. Etsi corporis vires non suppetunt: voluntas tamen merito adsit. in qua vera solidaque virtus locata est. Haud igitur absolum erit: si ab ignauo pusilloque ingenio viro Quedam dicuntur. que fortassis: sapientum illustria ingenia & potentum manus excitent. Hinc christi zelus diuini nominis amor: in ecclesiam catholicam affectus haud temere mouit. Hinc deflenda orientalis plage labe: immaculatarum animarum lapsus. scelerum atrocitas: promere impellit que ingenio debilitas; balbuciens lingua tremulaque manus edere possit. Arduum est enim quod aggredimur: egetque precellenti intellectu viro. qui eloquentia suasionem atque exhortationem prestat: & auditores facile moueat. Durum quippe est etate nostra (mundialibus curis implicitis) catholicis persuadere: ut que nostri maiores patresque ex incuria perdidere christiane religioni reintegrentur. Jampridem plerique viri doctrina & dignitate pollentes: operam pariter & industriam his in persuadendis perdidere. Loquutiores quoque habiti sunt: quo labores & impendia subire suadent. nec propterea desistere cepto decreui: si vel

mihi temeritas aut insania ascribatur. perspicaci quidem  
 sapientissimorum iudicio doctorumque severo examini  
 editionem submittens: dicendi initium aggrediar. in-  
 geniorum profunditas: quod ex proditis equum redo-  
 let libat fastidiatque quod inconcinnum absurdum atque  
 iniusum conceperit. Si animo destinauerim iacturas  
 clades strages & ignominias describere: quas christiano  
 nomini mahumetes thurcorum princeps (qui nuper e  
 vita excessit) crudeliter attulit. Nec vires nec tempus:  
 nec dicendi facultas certe suffecerit. Js quippe  
 tyrannus Nerone crudelior. Rege Assuero: potenti-  
 or. Ac Holopherne est proteruior. Imperia enim  
 duo: Regna non pauca. validissimaque ditiones: ma-  
 humetee legi subegit. Potentissimaque ac preclarissi-  
 mas vrbes: tributum subire compulit. In qua quidem  
 atrociori persecutione scelerum tam immensa colluies  
 nata est. Ut ea Nec mens excogitare Nec lingua pro-  
 mere Nec Calamus exarare poterit. Que terro graui-  
 que stilo plerique doctissimi: toti orbi nota reddidere.  
 vt superfluum fuerit: nunc dicendi latissimum campum  
 ingredi. Presertim: quod in animo est deuotas men-  
 tes. atrocitate non afficere: nec obductum vulnus re-  
 fricare. verum pro ingenioli facultate: ab omnipotenti  
 deo oblatam oportunitatem. Imperialis Constantino-  
 politane vrbs sedem: vniuersamque greciam (que eu-  
 rope portio est) subigendi & in christianam potestatem  
 redigendi demonstrare intendimus. modo adsit: qui vo-  
 luntate sapientia & potestate fruatur. sine quorum foedere:  
 nullum perfectum proderit opus. Libet enim paulif-  
 per mente coniectari: que causa fuerit tantarum cladi-  
 um enormitas. Quique tam seuus immanis scelestus ac  
 prepotens vir: tam insignes victorias sit assequutus.  
 Nec id: qui tunc rerum gubernacula tenuerunt: ig-  
 nauie ascripserim: qnam permulti accusare nituntur.  
 Potissimum fuisse iudico: mahumetis illius mirandam  
 inauditamque obedientiam. Cui nec pusillo nec magno  
 in ditione sua degenti: refragari fas fuit. At treme-  
 bundi attonitique dicto parentes: vel interitus pericula  
 non formidarunt ut omni studio principi parerent: Nec  
 fuit qui de throno imperij cum eo contenderet. His  
 quippe

quippe turpiter occisis : aut veneno enectis, qui thronum conscendere conarentur : ditionis imperijque monarcha colitur. nec audet aliquis ceruicem erigere : sed pauidi ad tyranni pedes procumbunt. Hinc oritur insolentia : hinc potentia : hinc obedientia nascitur : hinc fines ampliandi cupido incessit. & dum longinqui priuatarum rerum studiosi) thurco vicini fidei tuitionem credunt : horrida sanies nos inficit. Est profecto othumannorum domus inter mahumeteos illustrissima : tyrannis semper referta christianis molesta & formidolosa. Atque postquam ysthmum asie minoris (sub heraclio principe : pipino rege apud gallias regnante) intrauit : grandes iacturas attulit & mahumeteum cultum auxit. Potuit enim parua manu extinguere : cum in principatus exordio locata est. Sed paruipenderunt : qui enses ei obicere potuissent. Sicque torpentibus animis : pedetentim traiecto helesponto Europam adiit. in qua haud incelebres ditiones : suo adiecit imperio, ad postremum quoque etate nostra : imperialem patriarchalemque sedem sue fecit ditionis. Post cuius-expugnationem : vicinis ac insulis presertim rhodiis cruce signatis molestissima habita est. quos etiam deuincere extinguere atque proterere : conata est. At diuina pietas christi veros athletas : a tyrannidis iugo protegit. Cujus repulse ignominia affectus : draco ille scelestissimus mortem obiit atque damnatam euomit animam. O immensa : dei clementia. O inscrutabilis : sapientia. O inuieta : potentia. que mira veteris legis renouans : inauditum edidit miraculum. potentissimum quidem ditissimum atrocissimumque christicolarum persecutorem : pusillo principatui & cruce signatorum cetui subicit. Quem quoque validissime vrbes triumphatorem conspexere. clara rhodus : victum pressum & tandem ignominia repulse affectum ridet. dignata quidem est diuina potestas etate nostra ostendere : quam vile quam imbecille quam eneruatum) sit thurcorum fetidum nomen. vt christianorum animos : pristinis iacturis attonitos erigeret consolaretur ac solidaret : deuotasque mentes auget. ad exercitus comparandos. Qui Bisantium & Europam-haud indignam situs & orbis portionem (mahumetea po-  
lutione)

lutione) liberent. Debuit certe Rhodiorum insignis victoria (diuinis miraculis redimita) fideles animos mouere: ut vniverſo ſœdere iuncti in nephandum draconem vires inſtaurarent. At reieſto diuino ſuaſu tabeſcit humana poteſtas: nec audit mouentem mundi creatorem. Qui pulſans iterato: haud paulopoſt terremotibus in Aſia & Rhodo editis. crudelem tyrannum Rhodijs minitantem: Jam iamque imminentem. vt exoſam ſibi urbem peſſundet. Repentina etenim morte occidi permittit. Hinc oritur in aſia europaquoque thurcorum tumultus: potentum ſimultates germanorum nepotumque tyranni diſſidia: imperij thronum appetentium. Germanique Bagyazit & Zyzymy: mutuis cladibus ſeſe conficiunt. Queres maxime chriſtianam potentiam excitare potuit. vt vindictam de tyrannica domo ſumeret: & ab Europa tyranni iugum excuteret. Dormit etiam latina potentia: nec pulſanti deo creatori aditus patuit. Communeque bonum: priuato affectui algore regeus occidua fortitudo: poſtponit. O quam dura eſt preſens etas: O quam tarda. O quam lenta: minori certo de cauſa noſtri maiores illuſtria aggreſſi ſunt facinora. & inſignem triumphum: quandoque de barbaris fidei hoſtibus reportarunt. Erat quippe in eis chriſti ſanguis feruentior: qui precordia commouit impulit atque roborauit. Non enim miſericors deus cordis ferrea duricia commotus: illuſtriori occaſione chriſticolarum mentes hortari ſtatuit. Qua permittitur fraternum diſſidium diuturnius preſtare: ne aut vi aut dolo aut toxico interiret. Noui quidem thurci: qui nunc biſancijs imperat. frater Rex Zyzymy: (omni preſidio deſtitutus) ad Rhodios confugit: ab his quoque qui patri inſenſiſſimi fuere. & qui potentiam eius reſtruxerunt: tutamen preſertim implorans. Preſtat enim profugo clariſſimus Rhodiorum Magiſter vitam: quem a furore gladij fraterni eripit fouet nutritque ſuis opibus. Ut ſuperſtes frater terrori anxietati atque tremori fratri ſit imperitanti. Agendis quoque prudenter conſulens principem namque Zyzymy in occidentem miſit: ne fratri propinquus imperitanti vim dolos & inſidias ejus ſubiret. felix quippe profugium: quod apertam oportunitatem

tunitatem (Res aggrediendi preclaras) affert. Non est enim qui ignoret: quantas clades & ruinas. ciuium discordia. affinium dissidium fraternumque odium: imperiis ac regnis Reipublice attulerit. Sacre quidem gentiliumque litere: huius labis referte sunt exemplis. Nec enim nostra etas: horum haud expers censetur. Non certe aliter Romanorum R. P. (olim potentissima) interijt. Nec secus Athenarum ciuitas aratrum passa est. & Grecorum imperium christum colens: non multos exactos annos hoc affectum malo prius occidit. Ait enim: sapiens quidam. *Concordia parue res crescunt. Discordia: maxime dilabuntur.* Saluator quoque noster summa veritas: id explicans ait. Omne regnum in se diuisum: desolabitur. Hinc orta est (strenuissimi thurcorum ducis Achmat Basie ydronti expugnatoris) nex repentina: cuius tanta fuit insolentia procacitas & audacia. Ut non nisi assiduo cogitatu: ytaliam attingere cupiuerit. Eoquidem superstiti: numquam erant vicini quieturi. ingentesque clades: minabatur sese illaturum. Erat profecto animo audacissimus manu promptus valido corpore armorumque peritus: qui numquam quiescere assueuerat. Hunc quidem terrore fraterni profugij: Nouus thurcus impulsus dolo necari iussit. Hinc quoque commilitonum satellitumque noui thurci lateri adherentium: conspiratio tumultusque nascitur. Qui sui principis somnolentiam fastidientes: Regis Zyzymy desiderio ducuntur. Hinc opum profusio editur: vt sibi animos nouus thurcus alliciat. Hinc assidua: in Europe portione (que sibi paret) atque asia trepidatio. tantaque inquietudine ac terrore thurcus afficitur: vt iamiam germanum imminere adesse & aggredi sese putet. Nec vigilijs nec somno: aliud cogitat aliud voluit aliudque videt quam Zyzymy Regem. Hinc illud insigne inauditumque monstrum natum est: ut thurcum non puduerit. quadraginta milia nummum auri Rhodiorum magistro triumphatori Petro Daubuffon mittere. pacto inito: vt germanus attentius (ne sibi molestie terrorique sit) asseruetur. Princeps quidem potentissimus terrore fraterno impulsus: Rhodiorum magistro tributum conditione sese reddit ob-

noxium. O dei inscrutabilis: providentia. O innarrabilis: iustitia. O ineffabilis: bonitas. crudelissimi quidem tyranni opulentissimus potentissimus superbissimus natus: Rhodiorum principi cruce signato aureorum pactorum vectigal soluit apud quem germanus vitam fouet: quem tanto amore nephandus genitor persequutus est. formidolosus quippe Bagyazit terrore percussus statim fœdus cum vicinis percutere non distulit. Rhodiosque illustriori fœdere insignit: equis quidem conditionibus pactis. Nec audet trepidus Bagyazit: exercitus in christianos parare classem instruere enseque obicere. ne germanus adsit: latinorum manu succinctus. O quam preciosum profugium: O quam illustre exilium. O quam insigne regis Zyzymy confugium quod tantam attulit latinis commoditatem quietem & honorem. Ex quibus certo facile quis viderit (mentis tamen caligine prius abducta) quanta sit (ab omnipotenti creatore) oblata oportunitas Constantino-polim & Greciam recuperandi: latinorumque ditioni redintegrandi. Si modo pronior voluntas. potentiam & sapientiam sibi copularit. vtinam adessent illi: qui olim tanto animi ardore barbaros pessundare cogitarunt. quique nulla porrecta oportunitate graui vero difficultate: magna sunt aggressi: assequerentur certe nunc quod optarunt. Sic Ludouicus sanctus Francorum rex: sic perillustres alij principes qui sepius graui incommoditate: ab illustrioribus bellis sunt retracti. Ausim affirmare. Si parua classe Zyzymy vectus adsit. & non numerosus terrestris exercitus (qui danubio traiectu) seruiam intret: thurcorum potentia europa discedet. Si enim minoris asie fines: profugus rex Zyzymy tetigerit. Repente Bagyazit qui nunc imperat (helesponto transmissio) europam terrestribus christianorum copijs patentem deseret: vt germano se obiciat. Ita haud difficulter: europa mahumetea secta liberatur. Sunt enim hec haud obscura: qui orientem: & thurci fines accolunt ejusque mores noscunt. Sed qui longo situs tractu a nobis distant: nugas fabulasque commentari nos putant. Quicquid quoque dicimus: questus gratia dictum arbitrantur. Sunt quippe auro fulciti:

sub

sub deauratis tectis latentes delicatisque cibis nutriti: quithurcorum horrida non gnorunt arma. Rerum enim affluentia: non sinit hec prospicere. Non desunt quoque inuidi quidam: mordaci dente hec deprauantes & quod mirabilius deteriusque existit: pacta pecunia cum thurco initoque consilio. Regem Zyzymy: studiosa attentione toxico enecare conantur, vt sublata a deo oportunitateque data: nouus thurcus in regni solio firmetur. Cogitetque stabilis & intrepidus: permagnas vires in christianos exercere. Quas germano superstitute manuque Rhodiorum asseruato: sopitas esse necesse est. O scelus: inauditum. O atrox: iniquitas. O detestanda: inuidia. horum qui humani hostis inuitatione suggestionequae dyaboli: christianorum rempublicam turbare subuertere ac eneruare student cupiuntque ac expetunt. Nec aduertunt sese primum interituros: & exterminium perpeffuros. Si Rabidus canis (fratre sublato) insolescat: animum refocillet vires resumat mentemque recipiat. Obcecata quidem mens turrata superbia: alterius gloriam videre nequit. veniat in mentem: exterminium strages iacturaque. Quam priscis illis temporibus: Bothi Uvandali Huni. strenuissimi quidem barbari. latino nomini attulerunt. Quod profecto principum tenebrose illius etatis: ignauia inuidia dissidioque contigit. Reuoluant hortor hystoriarum celebres libros: claraque monumenta & quarerum qualitate versamur: compertum habebunt atque conspicient: quantam deus sit elargitus gratiam quam pertinaci animo non noscunt & audire fastidiunt & queque (in hanc sententiam) deuota mente prolata: in reprobum interpretantur sensum. Has igitur insidias: prudentissimus Rhodiorum magister subtili ingenio ab emulis excogitatas sentiens. Arbitratus quoque principem Zyzymy tutius apud gallias defendi custodiri atque protegi. Quibus certe preest Rex christianissimus: qui catholicam fidem gratia & presidio (maiorum exemplo) prosequitur. vbi & summa sinceraque viget religio: fidesquoque relucet orthodoxa: vbi monstra non gignuntur: ubi carent insidijs ac vbi toxici tabes ignoratur.

ratur. His causis suafus in franciam Zyzymy Regem mittit. vt robustissimis (cruce signatis) comitibus succinctus: opido hierosolimorum in amplissimo francorum Regno sito asseruetur. Sed non defuit commentum: quod principem Zyzymy regno interdiceret. nec ei pateret aditus: constitutione regia (vti accepimus) refragante. Que Mahumeteos Judeos alienosque (ab fide catholica) viros regno excludit. Heu grauem Sortem: Res vero quidem equa Iusta memoratque digna. Devoto catholicoque regis christianissimi pectori: vt indigna vt absurda & vt iniqua proponitur nec clarissimi facinoris circumstantie qualitates atque modi: sincere sunt explicati. Quis enim velit (presertim hierosolimorum ordo: qui precipuum erectorem protectorem auctorem francorum regem colit veneratur obseruat) immaculatum integerrimumque regnum obscenis moribus inficere? Quis cupit: regie constitutioni aduersari? Quis desiderat: rem atrocem committere? Nullus profecto sane mentis: id excogitarit. Non erit quippe in gallijs: Zyzymy sempiterna mora. Sed ad tempus: quo rebus christianorum consuli possit. non erit cum gallis viris integerrimis & omni immundicie labe puris: Zyzymy commercium. Non erit quidem cum incolis assiduitas: non erit cum habitatoribus familiaritas quandoquidem in secessu concludetur: castelli muris cohibebitur paucis comitatus satellitibus. Aderuntquippe eius custodie milites rhodij: qui constantes eorum prauitatem contemnunt & rident. Non debet quidem Gallia hunc rennuere expellere atque contemnere: cuius asseruatione tantum decus tantum comodum & tantum vtile emanare potest. Nec dubitamus pijssimum regem ac sapientissimos doctissimosque ejus regni viros: haud aliter sentire. Si modo huius principis statum intellexerint. Maior quippe comoditas christianis affertur Zyzymy fouendo protegendo & asseruando: quam inclitissimo regno arcendo propellendo nec non & excludendo. Nec enim regis constitutio: nec conditoris intentio infringitur. vbi tam clarum facinus tam grande emolumentum tamque insigne monimentum: ex admissione

in regnum oritur. Si autem aditus in franciam Zyzy-  
my denegatur: exultabunt insidiatores toxicorum por-  
titores sicarij nephandique satellites. qui dissimulato ha-  
bitu iussu thurci: nephandorumque virorum sue facti-  
onis passim vagipalantur. vt Zyzymy: vel gladio ne-  
cent. uel rapiant vel veneno interimant. Excipe ex-  
cipe nobilissima gallia & rex pijssime virum illustrem:  
nobilissima mahumeteorum familia natum. Qui tanta  
comoda: christiane religioni est allaturus. Qui ger-  
manum magnum thurcum: christicolarum finibus ar-  
cet. Qui fratrem bisanciorum imperatorem: tuoquidem  
regnicole splendidissimo Rhodiorum magistro submissum  
reddit. Qui passionis domini nostri ihesu christi moni-  
menta: reliquiaque in Constantinopolitana subversione  
raptas. & a thurco expugnatore ex industria custodi-  
tas heredique nato dimissas: daturum elargiturumque  
se magistro pollicetur. Qui tantorum scandalorum:  
extinctio censetur. Qui quietem christiano nonini  
prebet vide ne eum repellas: qui repulsus scandalo &  
iacature futurus sit. Si aditum prohibeas: adsunt fa-  
melici ac lupi rapaces qui regium iuuenem deuorent  
lacerent atque opprimant. quo sublato Bagyazit thur-  
corum rex cornua erigit: Rhodios persequetur. Italie  
imminebit: hungarolque inuadet. Et qui modo timi-  
dus stupidus ac tremebundus pauet iacet atque latet?  
repente erumpet insaniaque insolescet. etiam certe ani-  
mum augebit: sublatusquippe tremor terror ac formi-  
do erit. Ex quibus tot graua tot horrida tot enormia  
subsequentur: que narrare nemo quidem poterit. Ta-  
ceo vrbium subuersiones: & iuuenum fidei abnegatio-  
nem. phanorum pollutiones: virginumque prostitutio-  
nes. Quorum preterite clades: testimonium perhi-  
bent haud incertum. Caue toto orbe dignissima gal-  
lia: triumphis ac tropheis priscorum gloria clarissima.  
Ne tua laudata constitutio: tantorum malorum causa  
sit. Non fuit profecto legislatoris intentio bonum lau-  
dabile ac preclarum edicto excludere: quinimo pessi-  
mis viris ac sceleribus regnum purgare. At ubi tantum  
eninet bonum: in thurci scilicet ad tempus excepti-  
one lex quidem merito atque regia constitutio cedere  
debet.

debet. Que seruata: grande quidem scandalum christiano nomini sit allatura. damnant certe iura diuina pariter & humana iura luxuriam inconcessosque concubitus: prostibula tamen permittuntur. ne maius sequatur malum: omnia equidem turbentur libidinibus. Moyses quoque libellum repudij permisit: vt homicidium vitetur. duellum quoque conceditur: si ex eo publicum sequatur commodum. Tollerantur plerumque nonnulla quamuis non equa: ne grauius ingruat malum. Qui profecto rei publice preficitur: licitum est minora permittere mala ne maiora contingant. At diceres facienda non sunt mala: vt eueniant bona. fateor quidem: si de bonis & malis spiritalibus intelligas suppositum. At si de temporalibus fiat comparatio: minora sequi certe mala ratio suadet. Rarus quippe & foenici conferendus qui minimum spiritale bonum eligit: vt maximo temporali incomodo afficiatur. Nec prauum simpliciter dixerim: Zyzymy excipere regnoque admittere. qui tanta diligentia asseruabitur: ne iniquum afferat exemplar. Exceptio namque hec & legis infractio: non quidem malum moris ac spiritale censetur. nam nec iuri diuino nec iuri communi refragatur. Sed regie constitutioni: edictoque prouinciali repugnat. Quare prouinciale malum potius dici poterit. Nec enim omnes christicole a suis ditionibus: Iudeos & ab fide alienos excludunt. Respondere profecto conor debilius quam necessum sit: his qui exceptioni regiam constitutionem obiciunt. Sed non aduertunt: que (ipsam obseruando) contingant scandala. Ordini praesertim Hierosolimorum: qui Rhodijs imperat. & Francorum regij dyadematis presidio: ad hanc nostram etatem defensi protectique sunt. Gravissimum quidem scelus est scandalum: ex quo sepe numero nephanda: sequuntur si non cauetur modestia. Doctor quidem gentium Paulus apostolus Thymoteum circumcidit: ne conuersis iudeis scandalo sit. Quedam quoque legis mosaice iam sopite cherimonialia sequutus traditur ad tempus: vt scandalum vitaret. Scandali namque tabes: enormitatum fomes est. Sed forsitan quis dicet: fides publica Zyzymy data arcte eius custodie repugnat.

minime

minine quidem : fides namque data Zyzymy regem rhodiorum magistro audientem futurum pollicetur. Consilioque eius potiturum : nec priuatos appetitus sequuturum. Exceptus enim non est rex Zyzymy : vt christiane religioni aut rhodiorum statui obsit officiat damnumque afferat. Ipsum certe profugum a naufragio a mortis discrimine a germani sanguinolentisque manibus : precellentissimus magister eripit seruat atque defendit. dissonum quippe & a ratione prorsus alienum si quos fautores & vite tutores sentit cladem afferat. Terendum quidem tempus & rebus maturius consulendum : donec etas quietior tranquillior ac feraentior reddatur : Et qui dissident virtute : fruantur optata. Nulla siquidem ex eius custodia oritur pecuniaria utilitas : quamuis ampla sit pensio. prodigum est ac profusum id hominum genus : multoque cibo insignique supellectili vtitur. multasque impensas eius custodia affert : in educandis qui sue asseruationi incumbunt. sui etiam causa legationes ad thurcum & eius ad nos sepius mittuntur : que amplos sumptus faciunt. Honor quidem commodum utilitas etiam fidei ac reipublice christianorum : ad seruandum iuuenem nos compellit. donec qui cuncta prouidet ex eius alta specula christianorum tepidas mentes inflammet : vt expeditio in fidei hostem instauretur. Si christicole oblatam spernent occasionem : ingratitude certe nephandam non feret Deus. luentque penas quandoque : qui conatus qui sanctum propositum : quique res propicias iniquo disturbant ingenio. Si interierit : aut manus hospitalarium rex Zyzymy (quod Deus auertat) effugerit : tunc liquido patebit : quanto nunc fruimur bono. Quod pauci quidem gnoscunt : plurimi ignorant. perplures certe : vt iniquum facinus opprimunt damnant & fastidiunt. Docte ac fidelis lector : tuo qui perspicaci ingenio de paucis plura coniectare poteris. & pro intellectus acumine diiudicabis : si equum sit regie constitutioni inherere ac Zyzymy repellere. vel constitutionem rectius interpretando flectere : & Zyzymy admittere & in regnum introducere. Propositis quidem duobus : que mali speciem induere videntur secundem sapientis sen-

ten-

tentiam. minus malum reiecto maiori est eligendum. Si quid acrius quam decuit dixerim. aut incensum quidpiam edidi vel absurdum connexui. parce precor qui lectitas imbecilli ingenio: quod pondus tanti negocij sufferre & explicare non possit. Cedo tibi excellenti ingenio doctori: qui potiora acutiora & prudentiora excogitabis. que deotas mentes: non ambigo in nostram alliciant sententiam. valeat felix: quicumque perlegerit. Datum Rhodi. xij. kal. octobris anno incarnationis christi. M.cccc.lxxxij.

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I N D E X.

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the

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- Alvarez de Sande* dissuades the viceroy of Sicily from sending succours to Malta, v. 35. commands the regiment of Naples in the reinforcement sent to Malta, 55. presses for an engagement with the Turks, 60. makes a furious charge upon the infidels, 62.
- Aly* nominated by Mahomet to be his successor, i. 9.
- Amaury*, (prince) chosen to succeed his brother Baldwin III. in the throne of Jerusalem, i. 106. his character, 107. enters into a treaty with Sannar sultan of Egypt, 113. forms a design to conquer Egypt, 115. draws over the Greek emperor Manuel Comnenus to join in the project, *ibid.* enters upon the expedition, and takes Pelusium, 120. consents to a treaty of peace, 121. is obliged to retire with disgrace, 122. applies for relief to Manuel the emperor of Constantinople, and attends upon him in person, 127. dies, 133.
- Amaury*, a clergyman in the diocese of Chartres, the founder of a new sect, i. 224.
- Amboise*, (*Emeri d'*) is chosen grand master, iii. 123. the marks of Charles VIII's esteem for that prince, 125. holds a general chapter, 126. causes the order gain several advantages, and likewise a naval victory over the sultan of Egypt, 124. his death, 126.
- Amee V.* count of Savoy, falsely reported to have preserved Rhodes from falling under the Ottoman power, ii. 60.
- Amurath I.* brother and successor of Solyman, his great conquests, ii. 155. he is stabbed by a slave, 173.
- Amurath II.* eldest son to Mahomet I. succeeds him in the throne, and restores the Ottoman empire to its former splendor, ii. 235. turns his arms against the princes in the Morea, and the isles of the Archipelago, 236. declines to enter into any negotiation with the knights of Rhodes, 245. consents to a renewal of the ancient treaties of peace, 257. his quarrels with the king of Albania, *ibid.* marches at the

head of a powerful army against Scanderbeg, vol. ii. page 259. lays siege to Croia, the capital of Albania, but without success, 260. his death, *ibid*.

*Amurath*, son to Zizim, turns Christian, and is supported by the knights of Rhodes, iii. 139. attempts to escape with the grand master upon the loss of Rhodes, but is prevented by the vigilance of Soliman's spies, 230. discovered, owns himself a Christian, and is publicly executed with his sons, 235.

*Andrew*, king of Hungary, undertakes the crusade, i. 234. commits the regency of his kingdom to the palatine Bacbannus, 235. is admitted as a brother into the order of St. John of Jerusalem, 240, gains a victory over the infidels, and returns into his own country, 241, *et seq*.

*Andrew d' Amaral*, commands the gallies of the knights of Rhodes against the sultan of Egypt, iii. 133. demands the dignity of grand master, and is refused it, 147. takes up a resolution to destroy the order, 148. presses the grand seignior to besiege Rhodes, and offers him his service as a spy, 149. opposes the preparations made by the grand master for the defence of Rhodes, 159. stirs up the Italian knights to a disobedience to the grand master, 164. charged with having made a false report to the council, concerning the quantity of powder contained in the town, 188. gives notice to Solyman of the weakness of the besieged, 207. his treachery discovered, 208. hanged and quartered, 210.

*Andrew Doria*, prince of Melphi, commands the emperor's fleet against the Turks, iv. 18. lays siege to Coron, 20. and takes it, 21. besieges Patras, and carries it, *ibid*. the Turks attempt to recover Coron, and are defeated by Doria, 22. what motives determined him to desert the king of France and go over to the emperor, 76. is made generalissimo over all the fleet of the Christian league, 77, draws over the Venetians to the imperial side by a stratagem, *ibid*. endeavours to divert the emperor from his African expedition, 80. is sent against Dragut, 101. lays siege

- to Monester and takes it, vol. iv. page 108. is ordered by the emperor to pursue the conquest of Africa, *ibid.* forms the siege, 111. and takes the town, pursues Dragut by orders from the emperor, 122. desires the assistance of the gallies of the order, 124.
- Andrew Doria*, nephew to the late prince of Melphi, offers to transport 2000 men to Malta, till the forces of the king of Spain could be got together. v. 15. is deluded by the viceroy of Sicily, *ibid.* proposes to fit out all the naval forces of the king of Spain, and give battle to the Turks at sea, but is over-ruled, 35.
- Andronicus*, the greek emperor, refuses to assist the hospitallers in the conquest of Rhodes, ii. 49. sends a body of troops against them, 52.
- Andronicus* murders his prince, and sets up for emperor, i. 211.
- Anjou*, (Charles count of) brother of St. Lewis, embarks with him for the crusade, i. 297. his pretensions to the kingdom of Jerusalem, 319. sends a lieutenant into the holy land, *ibid.* causes seize the goods of the hospitallers who had not joined him in that quarrel, 320. the Sicilian Vespers put an end to his pursuits, 323.
- Anne de Montmorency*, marshal of France, marches out of Rome to a considerable distance, to receive the grand master, iii. 247.
- Anthony Fluvian*, or de la Riviere, made grand master of the knights of Rhodes, ii. 233. puts out a fleet to sea, in order to oppose the designs of the grand seignior, 236. mediates a peace between Sultan Daker and the king of Cyprus, but without success, 237. supplies the Cypriots with succours, and prevails upon the imprisoned king to purchase his liberty at any rate, 239. opposes the sultan's designs against the order, and restores a regularity in discipline, 240. his death, 244.
- Antioch*, a city of Syria, taken by the crusade, i. 32. retaken and sack'd by Bendocdar Sultan of Egypt, 315.

*Antioch*, (the patriarch of) excommunicates count Bohemund III. for adultery, and lays the kingdom under an interdict, vol. i. page 142.

*Antonio di San Martino*, defends himself before the grand master from the charge of having neglected to send succours to the relief of Rhodes, iii. 241.

*Antonio de Toledo*, a candidate for the dignity of grand master of Malta, is set aside for his virtues, v. 78.

*Aqueduct* made at Malta, v. 104.

*Arach*, a strong place in the frontiers of Arabia Petræa, besieged by the Turcomans, i. 130.

*Aramon*, (*Gabriel d'*) ambassador of Henry II. to the Porte, is desired by the grand master d'Omèdes to repair to the Turkish fleet before Tripoli, to hinder the siege of it, iv. 147. is unsuccessful, and detained by Sinan the basha, 151. procures the liberty of the governor and some other prisoners, 165. returns to Malta, where the grand master d'Omèdes throws disadvantageous suspicions upon his conduct with the Bashas, 169. passes to Constantinople, *ibid.* the king demands justice of him, and obtains it by the industry of Villegagnon, 177, *et seq.*

*Araschid*, one of the eldest sons to Muley Mahomet, implores the protection of Barbarossa against his younger brother Muley Hassan, iv. 37. is carried to Constantinople, and arrested in the seraglio by order of Solyman, *ibid.*

*Ardinel*, (the castle of) taken by the gallies of the order, iv. 21.

*Armenians*, Christians by religion, but schismatics, their errors, i. 128. acknowledge in appearance the authority of the pope, 222. are assisted by the hospitallers against Solyman the sultan of Iconium, *ibid.*

*Arnaud de Comps*, elected grand master of the order of St. John, i. 108.

*Arpajon*, (Lewis viscount of) a fine action of his, v. 125.

*Arsenal* built at Malta, v. 170.

*Artois*, (Robert count of) embarks with the king St. Lewis his brother, for the crusade, i. 297. declares him-

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himself for the siege of Grand Cairo, his opinion prevails, vol. i. page 300. forces the intrenchments of the Saracens, 301. refuses to hearken to the remonstrances of the two grand masters, and the count of Salisbury, 304. is surrounded by the enemies, and killed, 305, *et seq.*

*Ascalon*, the key of Palestine to the Saracens of Egypt, i. 64. their school of war, *ibid.* besieged by the Christians, 81. and taken, 84.

*Ascanio del la Corna*, advises the sending of succours to the knights of Malta, v. 36. his advice prevails, 37. is appointed major-general, and lands in Malta with the Sicilian succours, 58. advises the waiting for the coming up of the enemy in their camp, but notwithstanding marches out with the rest, and fights in the first ranks, 61.

*Asia*, the state of it at the institution of the order of the hospitallers, i. 2. *et seq.*

*Assalit*, (*Gilbert of*) fourth grand master of the hospitallers, his character, i. 116. gets the council to approve the enterprize of Amaury against Egypt, 117. borrows great sums from the banks of Florence and Genoa, to defray the charges of the war, 118. abdicates his dignity for shame of his bad success, 123. embarks at Jassa, and passes into France, *ibid.* perishes in his passage to England, 124.

*Assassins*, a sort of banditti seated in the mountains of Phœnicia, i. 120. the original of the word, 131. are subjected to pay tribute to the templars, 132. offer to become Christians upon their releasement from the tribute, and are ill treated by the templars, 133.

*Aubussen*, (the commander of) obtains assistance of money from Charles VII. is made overseer of the fortifications of the isle of Rhodes, iii. 24. is sent into the isle of Negropont to the assistance of the Venetians, 26. becomes grand prior of Auvergne, and at last grand master, 36. his chief cares, 37. he prudently decides some disputes with the Venetians, 39. ransoms some prisoners, 40. calls a general chapter, and orders all the knights to repair to Rhodes, 42.

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- agrees on a cessation of arms with Mahomet II. vol. iii. page 44. makes an advantageous treaty with the sultan of Egypt, and the king of Tunis, 46. is vested with the sovereign authority, 48. provides for the defence of Rhodes, 49. his descent, 50. at the request of the council confers the chief command of the armies on Anthony d'Aubusson his elder brother, *ibid.* signalizes himself for courage and prudence in the siege of Rhodes, which he forces the basha Palæologus at last to raise, 56, *et seq.* enters into a league against Bajazet II. 82. grants Zizim an assylum in Rhodes, 85. from whence he persuades him to pass into France, his motives therein, 90. enters into a negotiation with the Sultan, 99. what use he made of the power he had over the person of Zizim, 101. agrees with Innocent VIII. to cause conduct him to Rome; the articles of the treaty, 103. his consternation at the news of the death of Zizim, 112. is desired by Charles VIII to conduct him in his enterprise against the Turks, *ibid.* causes complaint to be made to the pope by Ferdinand king of Arragon, 115. Lewis XII. by an obliging letter, persuades him to enter into the league against the Turk, 117. banishes the Jews from the isle of Rhodes, 119. writes sharply to the pope, whose injustice towards the order was now beginning again, 121. dies for grief that he had not been able to prevent it; his character, *ibid.* reflexions on his successors, 122.
- Auger de Balben*, chosen grand master of the hospitalers, i. 102. composes the difference between king Amaury and the lords of Jerusalem, 108. dies, *ibid.*
- Avogadre*, general of the gallies, deprived of his commission, and condemned to a year's imprisonment, v. 98.
- Auffonville*, (the chevalier de) sues for succours to relieve Rhodes at the court of France, and obtains them, iii. 242 his fleet dispersed by a storm at sea, 243.
- Auvergne*, (the grand priory of) the prejudice done to the order in regard of that benefice, iii. 14.
- Bac-*

## B.

*Bacbannus*, palatine of Hungary, made regent during the absence of king Andrew in the holy land, vol. i. page 235. stabs the queen for having assisted in the ravishment of his wife, 238. is pardoned by the king, 242.

*Bagdad* taken by Togrulbeg, a Turcoman prince, i. 15. the ordinary residence of the calif Abassides, 110.

*Bajazet*, fifth sultan of the Ottoman race, threatens Hungary with an invasion, ii. 173. his advancement to the throne, and conquests, 174. gains a victory over the French, 183. turns his arms against the Greeks, and lays siege to Constantinople, 184. is opposed by Tamerlane, great cham of Tartary, 187. raises the siege to march against him, 190. comes to a battle, is defeated and taken prisoner, 193. insulted by Tamerlane, and kills himself, *ibid.* his sons dispute the succession, 202.

*Bajazet II.* son to Mahomet II. lays claim to the crown, iii. 78. is declared grand seignior at Constantinople, but opposed by Zizim his brother, 79. orders his troops to march immediately against him, *ibid.* offers to come to a composition with him, 81. marches against him in person, and returns victorious, 83. makes him other proposals, designing to surprise him, 84. forces him to seek protection of the knights of Rhodes, 85. enters into a negotiation of peace with the grand master, 91. and concludes it, 92. causes Achmet the grand vizir to be put to death, 96. presents the grand master with the right hand of St. John Baptist, the patron of the order, 99. sends an ambassador to Charles VIII. king of France, to solicit the giving up of his brother Zizim, 103. makes a yearly allowance to pope Alexander VI. for the imprisonment of Zizim, 108. solicits him to put him to death, 109. makes a secret league with the sultan of Egypt against the knights of Rhodes, 126. fits out a fleet, which makes a descent on the isle of Lero, 129. and is forced to retire with precipitation  
by

by the artifice of Paul Simeoni, a young commander in the island, vol. iii. page 129. causes great preparations to be made in all his ports, 138. is obliged to suspend the execution of his project, by reason of some domestic dissensions in his own family, 140. is poisoned by his physician at the instigation of Selim his son, 141.

*Balac*, a Turcoman emir, takes the count of Edessa and the king of Jerusalem prisoners, i. 50. killed by Josceline de Courtenay, 53.

*Balagu*, bp. of Malta, opposes the grand master, v. 121.

*Balben*, (*Auger de*) second grand master of the hospitaliers, i. 102. assists at the council of Nazareth, and contributes a great deal to get Alexander III. acknowledged as lawful pope, 106. and Amaury as king, 107. dies very old, 108.

*Balbiano*, one of the principal defenders of the city of Candia when besieged by the Turks, v. 129. drives them from an important bastion, *ibid.*

*Baldwin* succeeds his brother Godfrey of Bouillon, in the kingdom of Jerusalem, i. 41. after a successful reign of eighteen years, dies of a diæntery, *ibid.*

*Baldwin du Bourg*, count of Edessa, succeeds to the crown of Jerusalem, under the title of Baldwin II. i. 41. gains a victory over the Turcomans, and enters Antioch in triumph, 50. is taken prisoner by the enemy, *ibid.* is dismissed upon the payment of a ransom, 54. gains a considerable victory, *ibid.* makes new conquests, *ibid.* dies, 59.

*Baldwin II.* the third son to Peter de Courtenay, made emperor of Constantinople, i. 280. travels into Italy to implore succour, 281.

*Baldwin III.* succeeds his father Fulk in the throne of Jerusalem, i. 70. advances against Noradin, 79. lays siege to Ascalon, 81. succours Paneas, 93. surprised by Noradin, but escapes with the loss of his forces, *ibid.* gains a complete victory over him, 100. poison'd by a physician, 106.

*Baldwin IV.* succeeds to the throne of Jerusalem, i. 134. of an infirm constitution, *ibid.* surprises Saladin,

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dine, and gains a victory over his army, vol. i. page 135. attempts to fortify a castle in Jacob's-ford, and is defeated by the infidels, *ibid.* nominates the young Baldwin his nephew to succeed him, 147. commits the care of the government to the count of Tripoli, *ibid.* his death, 148.

*Baldwin V.* dies within seven months after his advancement to the throne, and not without suspicion of poison, i. 154.

*Baldwin*, count of Flanders, chosen emperor of Constantinople, i. 216. his death, 280.

*Bannerets*, magistrates of Rome in the absence of the popes, ii. 166. go about to re-establish the republican government, 173. after the death of Gregory XI. take violent measures for the election of an Italian pope, and the enthronization of Urban VI. 174.

*Barbacan*, chief of the Chorasmians, invades Palestine,  
i. 285.

*Barbarossa*, (Airadin) captain of the barbarian corsairs, puts to sea with a considerable fleet, iv. 23. seizes upon the kingdom of Tunis, and threatens Tripoli with a siege, 33. his birth and character, *ibid.* takes upon him the title of king of Algiers, and associates himself with two famous pirates, whom he made his lieutenants, 35. makes war upon the knights of Malta, 36. takes Araschid, son to Muley Mahomet, into his protection, 37. carries him to Constantinople, and proposes to Solyman the conquest of Tunis, *ibid.* returns with an army, and enters Tunis at the head of 9000 Turks, 39. is acknowledged Solyman's viceroy, 40. draws over the petty kings of Afric to his assistance, *ibid.* prepares to oppose the emperor Charles V. who was marching into Africa, 43. takes the field, 49. is defeated and retires to Tunis, and from thence to the city of Bon, 50, 51. restores Dragut to his post, 100. found dead in his bed, 102.

*Barbarossa*, (Horruc) causes the king of Algiers to be strangled, and sets himself up in his stead, iv. 34. is  
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- besieged in the capital of his kingdom, vol. iv. page 34. escapes with his treasures by a subterraneous passage, is pursued and forced to fight, *ibid.* is cut to pieces with 1500 of his men. 35.
- Barletto* and St. Stephen (the priors of) defend themselves from the imputation of negligence in procuring succours for the relief of Rhodes, iii. 241.
- Barres* (William des) lord of Tiberius, enters into a league with the duke of Venice, and takes the city of Tyre, i. 52.
- Beaulieu*, or Belver, a religious house of ladies hospitallers, subject to the visitation of the grand prior of St. Giles, ii. 19. its origin, *ibid.* the commanders of it takes the title of grand prioress, 20.
- Beertheba*, rebuilt and fortified by Melesinda queen of Jerusalem, i. 64.
- Bela* king of Hungary, restored to his throne by the assistance of the knights hospitallers, i. 289.
- Belbeis*, anciently Pelusium, taken from Sannar sultan of Egypt, by Siracon the general of Noradin, i. 113. the sovereignty of it promised to the hospitallers by Amaury, 117. is besieged, 119. taken and sacked, 120. the king restores it to the hospitallers, *ibid.* they are recalled from it, 122.
- Belgrade* besieged by Amurath I. and afterwards by his son Mahomet II. who are obliged to raise the siege of it, iii. 5, *et seq.* again besieged by Solyman II. 146. its situation and fortifications, 147. is taken, 152.
- Belle-fontaine*, (the bailiff of) commander of the naval army, signalizes himself, v. 195.
- Belle-garde*, (the baron of) although a secular, obtains the grand priory of Auvergne, v. 100.
- Bendocdar*, defeats Robert count of Artois, i. 306. advanced to the throne by the Mamalukes, 312. makes a bloody war upon the Christians, *ibid.* takes Jassa, the castle of Beaufort, Antioch, and the fortreis of Crac, 315. dies of the wounds he received in battle, 320.

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*Benedict XI.* chosen pope, and dies within eight days, vol. ii. page 28.

*Benedict XII.* (pope) writes a letter of complaint to the grand master of St. John, reproaching the negligence of the order, ii. 122. forms the plan of a naval armament, to keep the sea against the infidels, 123. furnishes his quota, and sends them out to sea, 124.

*Bernard*, a French monk, writes an account of his voyage to Jerusalem, i. 12.

*Bernard*, (St.) preaches up the crusade, i. 73.

*Bertrand de Comps*, chosen grand master of the order of St. John, i. 287. defeats the Turcoman army, and dies of his wounds, 290.

*Bertrand de Got*, archbishop of Bourdeaux, chosen pope by the secret practice of the king of France and cardinal Duprè, ii. 33. favours the French faction, and the Italians repent of their choice, 34. summons the two grand masters of the templars and the hospitallers to appear before him, 35. his dissimulation with regard to the affairs of the templars, 40. publishes a general crusade, and annexes plenary indulgences to it, 47. prosecutes the templars in conjunction with the king of France, 71. suppresses the order, 80. is said to have had a share in their estates, 91.

*Bertrand de Taxis*, chosen grand master of the order of St. John, i. 268. re-establishes the emperor's authority in Palestine, 271. dies, 281.

*Bertrand* made count of Tripoli, i. 41.

*Biandra*, (John of) prior of Lombardy, is made general of the Christian fleet, which takes Smyrna, ii. 125. loses that dignity by the arrival of the Dauphin of Viennois, 128. and recovers it by the credit of the grand master de Gozon, 132. gains a complete victory over the Turks near Embro, *ibid.*

*Blanchfort* (Guy of) is ordered to conduct the prince Zizim into France, iii. 91. becomes grand prior of

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Auvergne, vol. iii. page 102. and afterwards grand master, 137. is recalled to Rhodes, and dies by the way, 138.

*Bohemia*, (the grand priory of) restored to the order, v. 91. the emperor renews his pretensions to it, 93. the affair is concluded to the satisfaction of the order, 101.

*Bohemund*, a Norman lord, cuts his coat of arms into crosses, and taking the first himself, distributes the rest among his principal officers, i. 24. resigns his rights of primogeniture to his younger brother, and engages in the crusade, 27. takes Antioch, 32. is made prince of the city, and takes up his residence there, 38.

*Bohemund II.* succeeds his father in the government of Antioch, i. 48. marries Alice, the second daughter to Baldwin II. king of Jerusalem, 55. dies, 58.

*Bohemund III.* succeeds in the principality of Antioch, i. 129. is excommunicated for adultery, 142. taken prisoner by the prince of Armenia, 200. is set at liberty upon conditions, which he afterwards refused to observe, *ibid.*

*Boniface VIII.* advanced to the popedom, ii. 13. takes the hospitallers and templars into his protection, 14. annexes the abbey of the holy trinity of Venuſia to the manſe of the grand master, 21. threatens to excommunicate the king of France, unless he will head the army of the crusade, 25. dies of grief, 28.

*Borgia*, (the cardinal of) a natural son of Alexander VI. iii. 111. is given as a hostage to Charles VIII. and follows that prince into the kingdom of Naples, *ib.* is suspected of having poisoned Zizim, 112. raises his fortune above that of the greatest families in Italy, 119.

*Bosio*, commander and chaplain of the order of St. John, is sent to Madrid, iii. 256. returns to Viterbo to give the grand master an account of his negotiation, 257. is sent to Rhodes, 261. is dispatched by the council to the grand master, then in France, 271. passes with him into Spain, *ibid.* gives Charles V.

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an account of the measures that had been taken to regain Rhodes, vol. iii. page 271. is sent into England, 279. is again sent to Rhodes to sound the dispositions of the people, 289. the discovery of his project exposes him to great danger, 293. proposes to the grand master the conquest of the city of Modon, which he himself goes to view, 294. is sent into Italy to forward the execution of the plan concerning Malta, 296. is entrusted with the instrument of donation, to carry it to the grand master, 299. dies by the way, *ibid.*

*Bosio*, (brother) is sent into Candia to levy soldiers, and get provisions for the order, iii. 160. engages an able engineer named Gabriel Martinengo, and arrives at Rhodes with his soldiers and provisions, 161. is named to the bishopric of Malta by the emperor, iv. 14. but could not possess it till after the death of pope Clement VII. 17, *et seq.*

*Botigella*, prior of Pisa, is victorious against Airadin, iv. 62. deprived of the employment of general of the gallies, 64. returns from his government of Tripoli, and advises the order to give back the place into the emperor's hands, 74.

*Botoniates*, (*Nicephorus*) dethrones the emperor Michael Ducas, and is himself dethroned by Alexis Comnenus, i. 18.

*Boucicault*, (the marshal of) contributes to the bad success of the league against Bajazet, ii. 177. made governor or viceroy of Genoa, 207. lands at Rhodes in his way to Cyprus, *ibid.* makes some conquests on the coasts of Syria, 209, consents to the treaty concluded between the grand master de Naillac and the king of Cyprus, *ibid.* again cruises along the coasts of Syria and Palestine with the grand master, 211. is opposed by the Venetians, 213.

*Bourbon*, (the constable of) over-runs Italy with his army, and lays siege to Rome, iii. 285. is slain by a musket shot, 286.

*Brandenburgh*, (the bailiff of) embraces Lutheranism, and is cited before the council of the order, vol. v. page 93.

*Brienne*, (John of) his character, i. 219. Philip Augustus being desired by the Christians of Palestine to give them a king, causes him to espouse Mary queen of Jerusalem, *ibid.* arrives at Acre with 300 knights, 226. wastes the frontiers of the country, and is obliged to retire, asks assistance of pope Innocent III. *ibid.* prevents the besieging of Acre, with the kings of Hungary and Cyprus, 242. re-establishes the castle of Cesaria, *ibid.* supported by the crusades, goes to sit down before Damietta, 243. separates himself from the besiegers out of a pique against the legate, 246. assists at the assembly of Terentino, 252. gives his only daughter in marriage to Frederic II. and resigns in his favour, the authors of that negociation, *ibid.* traverses Europe to promote the crusade, 253. commands the army of pope Honorius III. against his son-in-law, 263. is called to Constantinople to take upon him the regency during the minority of Baldwin of Courtenay; his gallant actions notwithstanding his great age, 281, *et seq.*

*Bursa*, the capital of the empire of Bajazet, ii. 175. taken from the Moguls by his son Joshua, 233.

## C.

*Cair-beg*, governor of Egypt, refuses to join with Gazelles, governor of Syria, in his insurrection against Solyman, iii. 143.

*Calatrava*, defended by the abbot of Fitero and his vassals, i. 96.

*Caliph*, the title of Mahomet's successors, i. 9. the success of their arms, 10.

*Caliph* of Egypt, enters into a league with the princes of the crusade, i. 30. deserts his engagements, 32. enters Judea with an army, and invests Jaffa, 51. his army routed, and his fleet destroyed, *ibid.*

*Calix-*

- Calixtus* III. (pope) engages the princes of Europe to enter into a league against Mahomet II. for the defence of Hungary, iii. 2.
- Camel* (*Melic-el*) sultan of Egypt, calls his brother the sultan of Damascus to his assistance, i. 244. proposes advantageous terms to the Christians, 245. lays their army almost under water by opening the banks of the Nile, 247. makes a truce for eight years with them, *ibid.* his generosity towards Frederic II. with whom he makes a truce for ten years, 265.
- Campson Gauri*, sultan of Egypt, enters into a league with Bajazet against the knights of Rhodes, iii. 126. assists the king of Calicut against the Portuguese, 127. sends certain vessels to sea to make an attempt upon the isle of Lango, which are taken by the order, 128. resolves to augment his naval force, 132. enters into a league with the king of Persia against the Turks, 141. is defeated by Selim, and the empire of the Mamalukes entirely destroyed, *ibid.*
- Canalé*, commander of the Venetian fleet, shamefully abandons the Christians, iii. 27.
- Candelissa*, lieutenant to Hassan, viceroy of Algiers, his education and character, v. 17. assists in the attack of the peninsula of Malta, *ibid. et seq.* his behaviour in the siege, 19. is put to flight, 20.
- Candia*, (the island of) the retreat of the knights of St. John after the taking of Rhodes, iii. 232.
- Candia*, the capital city of the island of that name, besieged by the Turks, v. 129. the commander Balbiana makes himself master of an important Bastion there, *ibid.* divers reinforcements arrive thither, 156, 157. is at last taken, 158.
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F I N I S.



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OF THE

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OF

St. JOHN of Jerusalem

By

The Knights of Rhodes

And of Malta

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